

Ancient Documents and their Contexts

*First North American Congress of
Greek and Latin Epigraphy (2011)*

Edited by John Bodel
and Nora Dimitrova



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Ancient Documents and their Contexts

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Cover illustration: Dedication to Artemis from Prasiai (*SEG* 21, 780). See also Fig. 3 and p. 47 of the article by Ilaria Bultrighini in this volume. (From Vanderpool – McCredie – Steinberg 1962, pl. 23, fig. 137. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.)

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John Bodel would like to thank also Bryan Brinkman, who provided editorial assistance in tracking down references and help with the index at a late stage, and George Houston, the first Secretary-Treasurer of the American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, whose meticulous record-keeping and curatorial oversight during the formative stages of the organization set a high standard and provided much of the information on which the early history of the Society is based.

J.B.

N.D.

Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> . Paris. 1888–.
Ag. I	<i>The Athenian Agora. Volume I. Portrait Sculpture</i> . E.B. Harrison. Princeton. 1953.
Ag. xv	<i>The Athenian Agora. Volume xv. Inscriptions</i> . B.D. Meritt and J. Traill. Princeton. 1974.
Ag. xvi	<i>The Athenian Agora. Volume xvi. Inscriptions. The decrees</i> , A.G. Woodhead ed. Princeton. 1997.
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> . 1970–.
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , in <i>Revue des études Grecques</i> . 1888–.
CIIP	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae / Palaestinae</i> . Berlin. 2010–.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin. 1863–.
Diz. Epigr.	<i>Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romana</i> , E. de Ruggiero ed. Rome. 1886.
EDCS	<i>Epigraphik – Datenbank Clauss/Slaby</i> , M. Clauss, A. Kolb et al. Eichstätt – Ingolstadt. http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_en.php
EphEp	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica. Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum Supplementum</i> . Berlin. 1872–1879, 1903–1913.
FIRA ²	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani</i> , 2nd ed., 3 vols. 1. <i>Leges</i> , S. Riccobono ed.; 2. <i>Auctores</i> , J. Baviera and G. Furlani, edd.; 3. <i>Negotia</i> , V. Arangio Ruiz ed. Florence. 1940–1943.
HD	<i>Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg</i> , G. Alföldy et al. Heidelberg. http://edh—www.adw.uni—heidelberg.de/home?&lang=de
HEp	<i>Hispania Epigraphica</i> . J. Mangas (1–4) and I. Velázquez (5–). Madrid. 1989–.
IAquil	<i>Inscriptiones Aquileiae</i> , 3 vols, J.B. Brusin ed. Udine. 1991–1993.
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> . Bucharest. 1975–.
IEphesus	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , vols. 1–8. Bonn. 1979–1984.
IG II	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . = <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i> . vol. II, U. Köhler ed. Parts I–IV. Berlin. 1877–1893.
IG II ²	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> vol. II, 2nd ed., J. Kirchner ed. Berlin. 1913–40.
IGUR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> , 4 vols. Rome 1968–1990.
IKorKent	<i>Corinth. Volume VIII. Part 3. The Inscriptions 1926–1950</i> , J. Kent ed. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens. 1966.

- IKorWest* *Corinth. Volume VIII. Part 2. Latin Inscriptions 1896–1920*, A. West ed. Cambridge: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens. 1931.
- ILAfr* *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie et Maroc)*, R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, L. Chatelain edd. Paris. 1923.
- ILJug* *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, 3 vols., A. and J. Šašel edd. Ljubljana. 1963–1986.
- ILS* *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols., H. Dessau ed. Berlin. 1892–1916.
- IRT* *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward–Perkins edd. Rome. 1952.
- IRT2009* Enhanced electronic reissue of *IRT*, by G. Bodard and C. Roueché, with images. King's College, University of London. 2009–. <http://inslib.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/index.html>
- LGPN II* *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Volume II Attica*. M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne edd. Oxford. 1994.
- OGIS* *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 vols., W. Dittenberger ed. Leipzig. 1903–1905.
- PIR²* *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II, III*, E. Groag, A. Stein, et al. edd. Berlin. 1933–.
- RE* Pauly – Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart. 1893–1980.
- RMD* *Roman Military Diplomas*, M.M. Roxan and P.A. Holder edd. London. 1978–.
- RS I* *Roman Statutes*, vol. 1, M. Crawford, et al. edd. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996.
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, J.J.E. Hondius, A.G. Woodhead edd. vols. 1–25. Leiden, 1923–71; H.W. Pleket and R.S. Stroud edd. vols. 26–7. Alphen, 1979–80; vols. 28–. Amsterdam, 1982–.
- SGDI* *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, 4 vols., F. Bechtel, A. Bezzenberger, H. Collitz edd. Göttingen. 1884–1915.

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Introduction

The First North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, held in San Antonio, Texas, in January 2011, was the first major event sponsored by the American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. The publication here of a selection of the papers delivered on that occasion thus provides a suitable opportunity to record briefly the origin and early history of an organization now approaching the end of its twentieth year.

During the early months of 1995 a young Canadian scholar, B.H. (at the time “Hudson”) McLean, then serving as Executive Director of St. John’s College of the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg and already at work on the well-known handbook of Greek epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman periods that he would publish several years later, conceived the idea of founding in North America a society of epigraphers similar to the international organization created in Paris in 1972, *L’Association Internationale d’Épigraphie Grecque et Latine* (AIEGL), the principal activities of which had been (and continue to be) centered mainly in Europe.¹ Over the following months McLean approached half a dozen epigraphers in Canada and the United States and one from the United Kingdom to canvass their potential interest in starting a North American association. Receiving positive replies all around, McLean pursued the idea and by the end of the summer had secured from the sitting President of AIEGL, Silvio Panciera, provisional support for the formation of a North American association of epigraphers that would complement rather than compete with the international association, and he had assembled an Executive Committee of eight that comprised a nearly equal balance of Canadian and American members: John Bodel (Rutgers University), George W. Houston (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), Barbara M. Levick (University of Oxford), B. Hudson McLean (University of Manitoba), Léopold Migeotte (Université de Laval), James Russell (University of British Columbia), Stephen V. Tracy (The Ohio State University), and John S. Traill (University of Toronto).

At the end of the year, at the annual gathering of the American Philological Association (APA) and the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) in San Diego, an initial organizational meeting of the Executive Committee resulted in the appointment by consensus of three officers, whose terms of office were to begin on January 1, 1996: a President (B. Hudson McLean), a Vice-President (John Bodel), and a Secretary-Treasurer (George W. Houston). Collectively, the

1 McLean 2002.

three officers would constitute the Executive Committee, and the remaining members would make up an advisory council of Members-at-Large. It was also agreed that annual business and planning meetings, at least for the foreseeable future, should be scheduled in conjunction with the annual AIA/APA meetings, wherever held. The first formal business meeting was convened the following year in New York City on December 28, 1996.

Throughout 1996 and the first half of 1997, this group (minus Barbara Levick, who did not participate in any of the discussions and withdrew from the committee at the end of 1996, when a similar organization was founded in Britain), in consultation with the President and executive officers of AIEGL, drew up a constitution, which was first adopted by the ASGLE membership and was then formally endorsed by the Bureau and Comité of AIEGL at the Eleventh International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Rome in September 1997.² The ASGLE constitution provided for an Executive Committee of three officers (a President, Vice-President, and Secretary-Treasurer), the immediate Past President, a Senior Editor, and two Members-at-Large to be elected by popular vote by the membership. The terms of the President, Vice-President, and Past President were set at two years, those of the Secretary-Treasurer, the two Members-at-Large, and the Senior Editor at three years, with terms to be staggered in order to provide for a rotation of elected members each year.³ An invitation to join the new association was sent out to North American epigraphers and ancient historians in the summer of 1996, and by the end of the year the nascent American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy had enrolled 82 members (for calendar year 1997) and had mounted a simple website under the direction of an Information Coordinator (later Web-Editor), Tom Elliott, then at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.

In 1997 honorary lifetime memberships in the Society were awarded by unanimous consent of the Executive Committee to Joyce S. Gordon, the noted Latin palaeographer, and Christian Habicht, whose history of Hellenistic Athens, then newly published in English, provided a focus for the first ASGLE paper session at the December meetings of the AIA/APA in Chicago.⁴ In the

2 The British Epigraphy Society was established at a meeting in London on November 16, 1996.

3 From 1996 to 2012 the position of Senior Editor was filled by the Secretary-Treasurer. In that year a Junior Editor, Laura Gawlinski, was appointed to assist the Senior Editor in preparing the *Bulletin*; in 2013 she became the first independent Senior Editor. The ASGLE Constitution is available upon request from the Secretary-Treasurer.

4 Habicht 1997. Gordon is perhaps best known for her work with her husband and collaborator of fifty years, Arthur E. Gordon (*obit* 1989), on the paleography of Latin inscriptions on stone

following year an honorary lifetime membership in the Society was similarly awarded to Herbert Bloch, whose lifetime work on the epigraphy of Roman Italy was celebrated in the second annual ASGLE paper session, in Washington, D.C., in December 1998. Both Habicht and Bloch attended (and in the former case participated in) the paper sessions held in their honor. November 1997 saw the publication of the first issue of the *ASGLE Newsletter*, bearing in its masthead the distinctive palindromic acronym-within-a-stele-frame (designed by John Traill) that continues to serve as the emblem of the bilingual association (American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy / Société américaine d'épigraphie latine e grecque).⁵ The *Newsletter* also included an introductory Letter from the President, who had taken up a new professional position in Ontario, a region where he was (and remains) better known as Bradley H. McLean. By the end of the year, membership had grown to 116 members.

At the end of 1997, in order to bring the ASGLE Executive Committee as it then existed into conformity with the newly ratified constitution, McLean asked the two ASGLE Committee members then also serving as North American delegates to the AIEGL Comité to continue in office as members at large: Migeotte for an additional two years, with a term ending at the end of 1999, Tracy for three years, with a term ending at the end of 2000. Russell and Traill agreed to step down from the Executive Committee at the end of 1997, and McLean announced that he would end his term as President at the end of 1998, in order to implement fully the desired recruitment of new members into the organization's leadership. The first regular ASGLE elections in spring 1999 thus brought into office a new Vice-President (Kevin Clinton, replacing Bodel, who had become President at the start of the year), a new Secretary-Treasurer (Timothy Winters, replacing Houston, whose administrative efficiency had been instrumental in getting the Society off the ground), and the first elected Member-At Large (Diane Harris-Cline).⁶ Thereafter, elections to positions on the Executive Committee proceeded more or less regularly at the scheduled intervals, with candidates sometimes standing for office unopposed

in Italy of the first century CE: see Gordon and Gordon 1957, Gordon and Gordon 1958–1965, and the memorial note by Charles Babcock in the *ASGLE Newsletter* 3.1 (August 1999) 9.

5 From 1997 through 2008 (vols. 1.1 through 12.2), the *Newsletter* was published twice a year, normally in late fall and late spring or summer, under that title. Since 2009 (vol. 13.1), the semi-annual publication has been styled the *Bulletin*, as it is identified in the original Constitution.

6 For regularly updated *fasti* of the members of the ASGLE Executive Committee, see the ASGLE website (currently <http://classics.case.edu/asgle>).

and special elections occasionally held in order to fill positions vacated prematurely for one reason or another.⁷

In 1998 ASGLE applied for and was granted recognition as a chartered “Category II” affiliate of the American Philological Association, a status that provided a meeting space and a place in the program for a sponsored paper session annually at the joint meetings of the APA and AIA. In that year, as in 1997 and every year until 2010, the ASGLE paper session at the annual meetings was sponsored jointly by both associations, but in 2010 the Program Committee of the AIA declined to endorse the ASGLE panel on the grounds that the selected papers held insufficient archaeological interest. The ASGLE leadership protested, and efforts were made over the next two years to reconcile the positions of the two organizations, but in the end the AIA agreed only to sponsor a session of epigraphic papers in its own annual program, and the formal relationship between the two associations languished.

During the first half of 1999, ASGLE members responded to the Executive Committee’s solicitation of suggestions for the use of the ASGLE funds that had accumulated over the years through the collection of membership dues; later in the summer they voted on a referendum concerning the most popular proposals. Of these, only one – to sponsor a small monograph series devoted to the publication of North American collections of Greek and Latin inscriptions – received strong support, and that initiative, though formally implemented, was quickly overtaken and superseded by the rapidly evolving pace of electronic publication.⁸ Another, to provide small grants to researchers to visit epigraphic collections, was approved and implemented at the end of the year with a three-person committee of ASGLE members empaneled to evaluate proposals. A third, to offer a dissertation prize for doctoral theses at North American universities on epigraphic topics met with moderate support but also measurable opposition and was ultimately tabled for further discussion. Far down the list of possible worthwhile uses of ASGLE funds, with only two members suggesting it, was the idea of partially subsidizing epigraphic

7 At the end of 2002, when the sitting Vice-President declined to assume the Presidency in 2003, the Executive Committee recruited Leslie Threatte to fill the position. At the annual business meeting in January 2005, a regular election was pre-empted by the Executive Committee by an ad hoc adlection to the Vice-Presidency of a candidate standing unopposed: see *ASGLE Newsletter* 9.1 (May 2005) 1–2 (Secretary-Treasurer’s report).

8 Although limited-run print catalogues of Greek and Latin inscriptions in North American museums and universities continue to be produced, the aims of the ASGLE initiative are now pursued mainly through digital publication at the U.S. Epigraphy Project (<http://usepigraphy.brown.edu>).

workshops or conferences in North America. No one imagined a solely ASGLE-sponsored international congress of the sort that was eventually realized in San Antonio more than a decade later.

Over the first decade of the new millennium, the organization settled into a rhythm of regular annual business meetings and thematically-organized paper sessions jointly sponsored by APA and AIA at their combined annual meetings.⁹ Occasional awards of small subsidies to younger scholars for travel to collections or to pursue epigraphic research and the minimal expenses associated with producing and mailing the semi-annual *Newsletter* did not offset the gradual accumulation of funds accruing from membership dues and an occasional donation. Nor did new ASGLE initiatives, such as the sponsorship of students to attend an intensive summer school in (mainly) Greek and Latin epigraphy offered in 2003 and then every other year throughout the decade at the Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies at The Ohio State University, substantially reduce the balance. Toward the end of the decade, the need formally to incorporate ASGLE as a non-profit (and therefore tax-exempt) institution within the United States (where ASGLE funds were held in a credit-bearing savings account), became ever more urgent, and the Secretary-Treasurer was empowered to consult a tax attorney in order to undertake the necessary filing. After a few minor adjustments to the ASGLE Constitution in order to meet United States tax requirements were unanimously approved by the membership, the Society was legally incorporated in 2009 and was officially granted “501c3” (non-profit) tax-filing status by the federal government in 2010.

Even as revisions to the ASGLE Constitution were being undertaken in 2008, the idea of hosting a North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, either as a stand-alone conference in the fall of 2010 or as a one day “satellite” meeting immediately before or after the January 2011 APA/AIA meetings in San Antonio, was first raised and informally discussed in email exchanges among the ASGLE Executive Committee. At the ASGLE business meeting in Philadelphia in January 2009 the idea was formally proposed and endorsed. Later in the month, in conjunction with a special election of a Member-at-Large to fill a vacant position in order to meet federal non-profit tax-filing requirements, the ASGLE membership was polled for their interest in a North American Congress on either of the two proposed models or not at all. More than ninety per cent of those who responded supported the idea of an ASGLE-sponsored congress, and more than half of those preferred the “satellite”

9 There were no joint APA/AIA meetings, and hence no ASGLE business meeting or paper session, in 2000 because it had been decided to move the annual meetings from late December (of which the last was in 1999) to early January (of which the first was in 2001).

model. Accordingly, in late spring of 2009 planning began for an international conference to be held, it was soon determined, immediately before the APA/AIA meetings in San Antonio, on January 2011, with a welcoming reception and poster exhibition on the evening of January 4 and a full day of papers on January 5. At the annual business meeting in January 2010, the final details of scheduling and administration of the conference were worked out, and subsequently in April a call for papers was issued to the ASGLE membership and distributed more widely on public list-serves and through other media.¹⁰

J.B.

Conference Program

Nine months later the First North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in San Antonio was attended by more than one hundred North American, European, and Australian scholars and students and included keynote addresses on Greek and Latin epigraphy by Stephen V. Tracy and Werner Eck, as well as twenty-six papers on a wide range of topics in Greek and Roman epigraphy. The program was presented in three pairs of parallel sessions (I and IV, II and V, III and VI), with the first and third pair preceded by plenary sessions for the keynote lectures in Greek and Latin epigraphy. At the banquet at the end of the Congress, Bradley Bitner was awarded a prize for the best paper by a pre-doctoral student. A summary of the program follows.

Keynote Lecture in Greek Epigraphy: Athens in Crisis: the Second Macedonian War.

Stephen V. Tracy, Institute for Advanced Study

Keynote Lecture in Latin Epigraphy: Public Documents on Bronze: a Phenomenon of the West?

Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Werner Eck, FBA, Institut für Altertumskunde/Alte Geschichte, Universität zu Köln

Session I: Greek Epigraphy 1. Moderator: Kevin Clinton

A Decree by the Artists of Dionysos Erected on Corinth's Temple Hill in Honor of Roman Officials.

10 For further details about the planning of the congress, see the *ASGLE Bulletin* 14.1 (April 2010) 1–3.

Paul Iversen, Assistant Professor of Classics, Case Western Reserve University
New Inscriptions from the Sparta Theatre Excavations

Robert K. Pitt, Assistant Director, the British School at Athens
The Arrangement and Palaeography of the New Marathon Stele from the Villa of Herodes Atticus

Patricia A. Butz, Professor of Art History, Savannah College of Art and Design
Women and Athletics in the Roman East

Georgia Tsouvala, Assistant Professor of History, Illinois State University

Session II: Greek Epigraphy 2 – Attica. Moderator: Paul Iversen

From Coast to Coast: Epigraphic Evidence for Cult and Religion in Coastal Demes of Attica

Ilaria Bultrighini, Ph.D. Candidate in Greek History and Archaeology, “G. d’Annunzio” University of Chieti-Pescara
Erasures in Attic Inscriptions of the Classical Period

James P. Sickinger, Associate Professor of Classics, Florida State University
Beyond the Three-Barred Sigma: *IG I³ 11*

Sarah Bolmarcich, Lecturer in Classics, Arizona State University
The Nemesis in Lycurgan Athens

John Friend, Lecturer in Classics, University of Tennessee at Knoxville
Xenokrateia and the Hieron of Kephisos

Arden Williams, Professor of Classics, Memorial University of Newfoundland

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The Career and Afterlife of L. Volusius Maecianus (*CIL* XIV 5347 and 5348 etc.)

Genevieve S. Gessert, Associate Professor of Art and Archaeology, Hood College
Nasty, Brutish and Short? The Demography of the Roman Imperial Navy

Steven L. Tuck, Associate Professor of Classics and Art History, Miami University
The Geographical Distribution of ‘Catullus’ and Related Names

John D. Morgan, Professor of Physics and Astronomy, University of Delaware
Military Epitaphs in Mogontiacum and Carnuntum in the 1st and Early 2nd Centuries AD

Nadya Popov, Assistant Professor of History, University of West Georgia

Session IV: Inscriptions as Cultural Capital: From Late Antiquity to Modernity. Moderator: Dennis Trout

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Dennis Trout, Associate Professor of Classical Studies, University of Missouri

Michelangelo's Marble Blog: Epigraphic Walls as Pictures and Samples

Kevin McMahon, Library Manager, Southern California Institute of Architecture
A New Digital Edition of Greek Inscriptions: the Louvre Collection Project

Michèle Brunet, Professor of Greek Epigraphy, Institut Universitaire de France, Université Lumière Lyon

Session v: Text and Terminology. Moderator: Nora Dimitrova

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Jonathan Edmondson, Professor of History, York University
The Meaning of the Term *praetextatus* When Used for Members of Roman Local Élites

Christer Bruun, Professor of Classics, University of Toronto
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Brandi Bethke, MA Student of Classics and Ancient History, University of Exeter

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Rachael B. Goldman, City University of New York
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Jinyu Liu, Associate Professor of Classical Studies, DePauw University
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John Nicols, Professor of History and of Classics, University of Oregon
Roman *Gaia* and the Discourse of Patronage: Retrograde C in *CIL* VI
Peter Keegan, Lecturer in Ancient History, Macquarie University

N.D.

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PART 1

Greek Epigraphy



Athens in Crisis: The Second Macedonian War

Stephen V. Tracy

On behalf of the American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, as the current president, I am pleased to welcome you all to this first of what is hoped will be many international congresses sponsored by the society. I thank the organizing committee, namely, Nora Dimitrova Vice President, Paul Iversen Secretary-Treasurer, John Bodel, Glenn Bugh and John Morgan, for all their work in arranging this first conference and also for the kind invitation to deliver this opening address. It affords me the opportunity to share with you some of the new information that has resulted from nearly a decade's work on the Athenian decrees of the years 229 to 168 preparing fascicle 5 of the third edition of the inscriptions of Attica for *Inscriptiones Graecae*. My main collaborator, indeed a true co-author of the fascicle, is the very talented Greek epigraphist Voula N. Bardani. Professors Christian Habicht, T. Leslie Shear Jr. and Dr. Andronike Makris have also provided significant assistance in the preparation of the fascicle, which is scheduled to appear by the end of the summer of 2012. Clearly I am indebted to these scholars in the following remarks. I also wish to acknowledge here the kindness of John Morgan in sharing his knowledge of the Athenian calendar.

The single most destructive event of the years 229 to 168 for the Athenians was the Second Macedonian War.¹ The city, the Piraeus and also Eleusis often came under direct attack and the countryside was repeatedly ravaged by the troops of Philip and his allies. The years covered by the war are 201/0 to 197/6. Our sources for it are almost exclusively Polybius and Livy. Not one decree of the Athenians that we can identify belongs to these years and the archon list for these years in consequence has a huge hole in it. The lack of inscriptions is but one sign of the disruption to the life of the city caused by the war. There is, of course, a certain fitting irony for me to select this nearly inscriptionless event as my subject for this audience.

King Philip V of Macedon was the main instigator of this war. He was a man of enormous energy and ambition who as a youth of 17 succeeded Antigonus

1 All dates are BCE. For short accounts of this war, see Habicht 1997: 196–202 and Byrne 2010: 157–158. See also for some archaeological evidence, Thompson 1981: 352–354.

Doson on the throne of Macedon in the year 221. He cemented his authority to rule in the Social War (220–217) when he successfully led his Hellenic League comprised of Macedonians, Boeotians, Corinthians, and Achaeans against the Aetolians, Eleans and Spartans. The Athenians sought neutrality in this war and, at the beginning of the conflict, sent Demainetus, son of Hermocles, of Athmonon on frequent missions to the *koinon* of the Aetolians and to Philip v to ensure good relations with both and to avoid harm by being drawn into the conflict on either side.² This deliberate policy of neutrality served the Athenians well and continued after the Social War for some years, if we may trust as indicative the seven dated Athenian decrees that survive that fall in the years 215 to 210. These measures all deal with matters Athenian; three honor ephebes,³ three councilors⁴ and one the *Epimeletai* of the Mysteries.⁵

Philip's continued aggressive activities, however, must have been causing the Athenians real concern. In any case, about the year 210 they passed several decrees that honor foreigners, including the people of Ephesus⁶ and those of Cyme.⁷ At the close of the year 208 they received sacred ambassadors from Magnesia⁸ and about the year 201 they granted unusually elaborate honors to the people of Chrysaorean Antioch.⁹ About the year 200 they also honor men from Rhodes in the service of Ptolemy,¹⁰ from Byzantium¹¹ and the people of Miletus.¹² It is quite probable that these actions of the Athenian assembly represent a more or less organized campaign to garner friends and allies in the east against Philip. They were not really at any point in these years themselves a major player and had to rely primarily upon their alliance with King Ptolemy IV.

In the years 205 and after Philip turned his ambitions eastward and, with the death of Ptolemy IV in the year 204, sought to gain control in the Aegean and Asia Minor of territory subject to Ptolemy. Concerned and threatened, King Attalus of Pergamum and the Rhodians reacted and in 201 their combined

2 IG II² 1304 ll. 4–9 = Clinton 2005: no. 211.

3 IG II³ 1161 of 215/4 (II² 794, re-edited by Dow 1937: 108–109); II³ 1166 of 213/2 (Tracy 1979: 174–178 + Meritt 1947: 168–169); II³ 1167 of 212/1 (Pritchett and Meritt 1940: 110–111).

4 IG II³ 1162 of 214/3, II³ 1165 of 213/2 (Ag. XV 135) and II³ 1168 of 211/0 (Ag. XV 129).

5 IG II³ 1164 of 214/3 (II² 847 = Clinton 2005: no. 208).

6 IG II³ 1215 (Ag. XVI 238+239).

7 IG II³ 1216 (II² 859).

8 IG II³ 1170 (Rigsby 1996: 215–217 no. 87).

9 IG II³ 1178 (Osborne 1981: no. D95 = Rigsby 1996: 330–332 no. 162).

10 IG II³ 1179 (II² 1024).

11 IG II³ 1238 (II² 884).

12 IG II³ 1242 (*Milet* VI.3 1032).

naval forces stopped him off the island of Chius and off Lade near Miletus. The Roman Senate also declared war on him at this point.

With Ptolemy IV dead and the succession in Egypt in doubt, Athens had lost its chief protector. Philip, at the same time, wished to regain control of Athens for the Macedonians, especially her strategic port at Piraeus; this was important to support his fortified positions in Greece. He soon found a pretext when the Athenians put to death two young men from Acarnania who had accidentally entered the Temple of Demeter during the Mysteries. The Acarnanians, who were allies of Philip, requested his aid in a reprisal attack on Attica. We may imagine that he was happy to comply. In late winter or early spring of 201/0 the Acarnanians with some Macedonian troops laid waste Attica (Livy 31.14). Almost immediately after this action, the Acarnanians went home with their booty, but a Macedonian force under Nicanor stayed on to lay siege to Athens. There had been at this time a naval engagement off the coast as well; four Athenian ships had been seized by the Macedonians and been rescued by the Rhodians (Livy 31.15.5; Polybius 16.26.9). This was the start of the Second Macedonian War.

It was in the early spring of the year 200 in response to these first attacks that the Athenian assembly met to discuss the situation. Roman legates were in Athens negotiating with King Attalus and the Rhodians at the time. A letter from Attalus was read at the assembly meeting urging the Athenians to declare war on Philip and then the Rhodian ambassadors spoke in the same vein (Polybius 16.26.4–8). The members of the assembly voted overwhelmingly to declare war, honored the Rhodians fulsomely with the rights of citizens, and created a new tribe Attalis in honor of King Attalus (Polybius 16.26.9; Livy 31.15.5–8). They also abolished the two Macedonian tribes Antigonis and Demetrias, resolved to destroy all monuments to Philip and his ancestors, to expunge references to them in decrees and to ban all Macedonians from Attic soil (Livy 31.44.2–9, 41.23.1). Before the Roman legates departed on other business, they took the opportunity to persuade Nicanor, Philip's general, to desist from his attack on Athens (Polybius 16.27.1–3). His troops had reached the Academy and were threatening the city.

This action of the Romans probably gained the Athenians a little time; but, no one pressed the campaign against Philip. Rather, the Rhodians sailed home and Attalus tarried on Aegina (Livy 31.15.8–11). Macedonian attacks on the city continued with raids by 2000 infantry and 200 cavalry led by Philocles (Livy 31.16.2–3). Raids on the fields also came from Macedonian strongholds at Corinth through Megara and naval contingents from Chalcis threatened the shipping routes and the Attic coast. By autumn, again under siege, Athenian ambassadors met the Roman general P. Sulpicius Galba on his arrival on the

west coast of Greece at Apollonia in Epirus begging that he do something to relieve their city. He dispatched C. Claudius Cento with 20 ships and 1000 troops (Livy 31.14.3, 22.4–7) who stabilized the situation and brought an end to the attacks from Corinth and Chalcis. Three Rhodian and three Athenian ships soon joined the fleet in protecting the coast (Livy 31.22.8).

Philip himself late in the year 200 in retaliation for Roman attacks on his stronghold at Chalcis led a ferocious assault coming at the city along the Academy road and actually penetrated the Dipylon Gate (Livy 31.24.10–17). Failing to breach the walls, he camped at Cynosarges. His troops burned everything that was holy and pleasant around the city including the gymnasium and grove at Cynosarges and the Lyceum (Livy 31.24.18). The next day he withdrew in the face of reinforcements coming from Attalus on Aegina and the Romans at Piraeus. Lastly, he and his general Philocles co-ordinated that winter (200/199) assaults on Athens, Eleusis and Piraeus (Livy 31.26). With the Romans coming to help, these attacks failed; the walls held. In frustration Philip and Philocles employed their troops to destroy far and wide in the countryside, especially the tombs and temples in the demes.

So ended the first year of the war, arguably one of the most trying times the Athenians had ever faced. They were under constant attack from Philip and his allies. The countryside was systematically burned and looted. Only the presence of Attalus and the Romans saved the city, the Piraeus and Eleusis from actually being taken. The enmity the Athenians had shown to Philip and to the Macedonians in daring to ally with his enemies and in abolishing the Macedonian tribes and expunging references to them, Philip had returned in full measure. His personal leadership in ferocious attacks on the city reveals his deep animosity. After this, the theater of war shifted north to Macedonia and Thessaly and the city does not figure in the accounts we have of the rest of the war. Philip's animosity, however, suggests that he was happy to have forces of his allies continue to harass the Athenians who remained hemmed in by enemies. Euboea and Corinth had Macedonian garrisons and Boeotia was allied with Philip. It seems highly probable, then, that the countryside of Attica continued to suffer depredation.

We know only that at the behest of the Romans, Athenian representatives spoke in strong condemnation of Philip at an assembly of the Aetolian league in March 199 (Livy 31.30) and at a gathering of the Achaean League in September 198 (Livy 32.19). Moreover, during the two-month truce engineered by Flamininus in winter 198/7 to allow for an airing of complaints in Rome before the Senate, Athenians took part (Polybius 18.9–10). Livy sardonically comments (31.44.9) *Athenienses quidem litteris verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philippum gerebant* ("Indeed, the Athenians were waging war

against Philip with rhetoric and speeches, their only strength"). But Philip remained defiant and had finally to be defeated in battle at Cynoscephalae in late May or early June of 197.

There is one inscription of the year of Charicles (184/3) first published in 1936 by B.D. Meritt that refers to these years in very general terms.¹³ It honors a certain Cephisodorus for his almost thirty years of service to the state; he is praised in lines 17 to 23 "for explaining how the people might continue to keep their existing supporters firmly trustworthy and how they might add others, for having foreseen plots against them from the outside and having taken it as his duty to stand in opposition to them, for the advantageous alliances he has recommended to the people and for the embassies he has undertaken of greatest consequence for the safety of the city and countryside."¹⁴ The plots against them are surely a reference to the actions of Philip and his allies. Cephisodorus was clearly involved in many of the negotiations of these crucial years. Indeed, we know from Polybius (18.10.11) that Cephisodorus was in fact the leader of the Athenian delegation that went to the Senate in Rome during the two-month truce declared by Flamininus in winter 198/7. He is honored in the inscription with a gold crown (ll. 45–46), two bronze statues, one to be set up in the market place and the other in Piraeus (ll. 33–34, 52–53), feeding at public expense in the prytaneium and front row seating at contests (ll. 53–55). The award of two bronze statues is unique in the epigraphical record of this time and surely indicates his importance; he was, it seems clear, the leading Athenian statesman of the time.

Pausanias (1.36.5–6), on seeing his tomb, credits Cephisodorus with bringing as allies against Philip King Attalus, King Ptolemy, the Aetolians, the Rhodians and the Cretans. He also reports that he sailed to Italy with other Athenians and begged aid of the Romans who sent troops. While the complete accuracy of some of this is open to doubt – for examples, Ptolemy was a boy who was in no position to play a role and Cephisodorus most probably was among the ambassadors who sailed to the coast of Epirus, not to Italy, to beg aid from Sulpicius in the autumn of 200, the first year of the war – it appears, as

13 IG II³ 1292 (Meritt 1936: 419–428 = *Ag.* XVI 261).

14 εἰσηγημένος δὲ καὶ δι' οὗ τρόπου ἦν
τούς τε ὄντας φίλους ὁ δῆμος διατηρήσει βεβαίους ἐν τεῖ πίστει
μένοντας καὶ ἐτέρους προσκτήσεται ἢ καὶ τὰς γινομένας ἐπιβου-
20 λὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν προεωραμένος καὶ ἀντιστήνα[ι] προ[σ]τεταγ-
μένος ἢ καὶ συμμαχίας συμβεβουλευκώς καλὰς καὶ σ[υν]ενηγ-
χείας τῷ δήμῳ ἢ καὶ πρεσβείας πεπρεσβευκώς ὑπὲρ [τῶ]ν μεγί-
στων εἰς σωτηρίαν ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ τῇ χώρῃ ἢ

Habicht has argued, that Pausanias saw and summarized several decrees that honored Cephisodorus.¹⁵ Unfortunately we have no other certain reference to him and do not even know his full name. Some have thought that he is identical with Cephisodorus, son of Aristodemus, of Xypete, proposer of a decree in the year 228/7.¹⁶ This strikes me as very unlikely on chronological grounds.

There is one new text that gives crucial information about these years and I am very pleased to be able to present here for the first time information about it. It is forthcoming in the new edition as *IG* II³ 1256 and we thank its excavator T. Leslie Shear Jr. for making it available. This decree, dated by its preamble to the archonship of Tychandrus, praises the ephebes of the preceding year, the year of Sositeles. Sositeles is both a new name and a new Athenian archon. Almost 20 years ago the present speaker argued that the archon Tychandrus belonged in 196/5 and not in the year 160/59 as everyone then thought.¹⁷ The argument centered on the hand of the inscriber of an Athenian decree of Tychandrus' year found on Delos that honored King Pharnaces and his wife Nysa.¹⁸ During work at IG in Berlin I had come across a squeeze of this inscription. The hand is unmistakable; he is the Cutter of *IG* II² 912.¹⁹ His working career spanned the years 226 to about 190. He could not still have been active in the year 160/59. The particular year 196/5 was determined by the demotic of the secretary; he was from the deme of Marathon of the tribe Aiantis, tenth in the secretary cycle. Sositeles should then be the archon of the year previous to Tychandrus, i.e. the year 197/6.

That is now confirmed by the new decree. The language clearly reveals that these ephebes served during 197/6, the year immediately following the victory at Cynoscephalae, the year in which a peace agreement was finally reached. From lines 15–17 (συναντελάβοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀνακαθάρσεως | καὶ - c. 6 -- τοῦ Λυκείου, συνεξήρχοντο δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν κα[ι] | τοῦ κοσμη[η]τοῦ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τὰς βοηθείας τοῦ πυρός) we learn that they participated in a clean up of the Lyceum (ll. 15–16) and went out on more than one occasion into the countryside to bring aid in the aftermath of the burning (l. 17). They are more generally praised for “their safeguarding of the cities in obedience to whatever their *kosmetes* and the generals ordered and handing them (the cities) over to their successors in a time of peace” ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς ὡς | [τῶ]ν πόλεων πειθόμενοι τῷ τε κοσμητεὶ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καθ’ ἃ ἂν πα[ρ]αγγέλλωσιν,

15 Habicht 1985: 92–94.

16 *IG* II³ 1135 line 11 (II² 832).

17 Tracy 1992.

18 *IG* II³ 1258 (*IG* XI 1056 = *ID*1497*bis*).

19 Tracy 1990: 55–60.

καὶ παραδεδώκασιν τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ (ll. 11–13). The war had ended for all intents and purposes at the battle of Cynoscephalae in late May or early June of 197, that is near the end of the archon year 198/7 and approximately three months before these ephebes began their year. No doubt, as Philip's defeat became known, the harassment of the Athenian countryside gradually stopped and the cleanup and rebuilding could finally be undertaken. However, I think that the phrase τῆς φυλακῆς[[τῶ]ν πόλεων at the end of line 11 and the beginning of 12 may be more than rhetorical. It is very possible that these young soldiers, especially at the start of their year's service, had to protect the city from straggling marauders.

In any case, the peace took significant time to work out (Polybius 18.36–38); it was not until late January of 196 at the earliest that the Roman Senate ratified the peace agreement. Claudius Marcellus, one of the consuls of 196, had already assumed office when the ambassadors from Philip and from Flamininus and the allies initially arrived in Rome to discuss the terms of the peace (Polybius 18.42.1–5). By this time the ephebes of Sositeles' year were approximately halfway through their year. News of the *senatus consultum* τὸ περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνης, in Polybius' words, reached Flamininus (Polybius 18.44.1–2) some time after this, so that in spring 196 (April or May) at the Isthmian games he was able to proclaim the resulting freedom of the Greeks. Specifically, he announced that Corinth, Phocis, Locris, Euboea, and Thessaly with its territories of Achaea Phthiotis, Magnesia, and Perrhaebia were now to be free of Macedonia (Polybius 18.46.4–6). Only when this news had reached Greece could these ephebes in fact be described as handing over the city to the next group of recruits in a time of peace, ἐν εἰρήνῃ (l. 13). They thus served their year of military duty during the year 197/6 and in no other year. Earlier than this the phrase could not have been used and a year later it would not have been news.

The assembly enacted two further measures that we know of during Tychandrus' archonship, both of some importance for ensuring the well being of their city. About the middle of the year, they honored a courtier of King Eumenes II²⁰ and some months later passed a fulsome decree for King Pharnaces I of Pontus and his wife Nysa.²¹ By the first they were clearly cementing friendly relations with the Attalids, their ally in the recent war. Indeed, Eumenes had recently come to the throne, near the end of 197 on the death of his father Attalus I. With the second decree, the Athenians renewed a financial agreement for payments to be made to the city by King Pharnaces. He too had

20 IG II³ 1257 (II² 953).

21 See n. 18.

recently assumed the kingship and, it is apparent, valued having a close relationship with so famous and cultured a city.

Thus, the year of Tychandrus, the year 196/5, the year after the peace had been ratified, saw the Athenian assembly again enacting important measures. This suggests the beginning of a return to normalcy, while the complete absence of inscriptions that can be assigned to the years 201/0 to 197/6 suggests that the civic life of the city was significantly disrupted during the war. Surrounded by enemies and with their chief allies after the first year engaged elsewhere against Philip, the Athenians had had to shift largely for themselves. Thus, they must have devoted all their manpower and resources to protecting Athens. As a parenthesis, I need to add a correction here to a position I took almost two decades ago. In discussing the dates of Panathenaic inscriptions, I tentatively suggested that the second column of *IG* 11² 2313 recorded the victors at the Panathenaia of the year 198.²² This must be wrong, for the city was still beleaguered at this time and, in consequence, it is very unlikely that the Panathenaic festival and games could have been held.

To summarize, historical arguments dovetail with the evidence of the secretary cycle to date the archon Tychandrus firmly in the year 196/5. And this brings us squarely to the gaping hole round about the year 200 in the list of the archons of Athens that I mentioned at the opening. In fact, there is hardly any period more uncertain than the list from 202/1 to 190/89. To illustrate the point, table one shows Meritt's 1977 and Habicht's 1982 assignments for these years.²³ The third column of this table presents the state of affairs about 1996.

These attempts of Meritt and Habicht were based on the best knowledge they had available to them at the time. Before continuing, allow me to make a general comment or two about attempts to reconstruct the Athenian archon list. To a greater or lesser degree all of us who work on the archon list succumb to its special Siren song – the one that leads us, often with insufficient evidence or with wishful reading/thinking, to assign an archon to a particular year. We know logically that each archon held office in one and one year only and, in consequence, the temptation is overwhelming to find that one year. It is very hard to admit we don't know or to leave archons floating. In particular, the desire to find the demotics and thus the tribes of secretaries is very strong, for when we know the tribe, then the secretary cycle comes into play as a powerful and dependable tool for dating an archon to a particular year. Be warned. In assessing assignments of archons, one must always look at whether the

22 Tracy and Habicht 1991: 218.

23 Meritt 1977: 179–180 and Habicht 1982: 177–178.

TABLE 1.1

	Meritt 1977	Habicht 1982	Circa 1996
204/3	Apollodorus IX	Apollodorus IX	Diodotus 8
203/2	Proxenides x	Proxenides x	Apollodorus IX
202/1	Dionysius 11	----- 11	Proxenides x
201/0	Isocrates v	----- 12?	11
200/199	Nicophon 6	----- .	12?
199/8	[...i]ppus VII	[...i]ppus? VII?	[...i]ppus? VII?
198/7	Sosias? 8	----- 8?	8?
197/6	Ancylus 9	----- 9?	9?
196/5	Charicles x	Charicles x	Tychandrus x
195/4	[... 9 ...] XI	Ancylus? XI?	--- 7-8 --- XI
194/3	Dionysius after 12	Dionysius 12	Dionysius 12
193/2	Phanarchides I	Phanarchides I	Phanarchides I
192/1	Diodotus after Ph. II	Diodotus after Ph. II	Diodotus after Ph. II
191/0	Timouchus? III	Timuchus? III	Timouchus? III
190/89	Demetrius IV	Demetrius IV	Achaios IV
189/8	Euthycritus v	Euthycritus v	Euthycritus v

secretary and his demotic are well preserved and whether in fact there is solid evidence that a particular secretary actually is attached to a particular archon.

Let us look at three examples. Both scholars assigned the archon [...i]ppus to the year 199/8 based on Meritt's restoration of the secretary's name and demotic in line 2 of *Ag.* XVI 259 as [Δημοσ]θένης Δημοκλέου[ς Κοθωκίδης] (Oineis VII). All that is preserved of the secretary's name on that inscription is [- c. 5 -]θένης Δημοκλέου[ς - - -]. Meritt sought²⁴ to identify him with [Δημοσ]θένης Δημοκ[- - c. 10 - -]ίδης, the dedicator of a round base published in *Hesperia* 17, 1948, 39–40 that he dated to about 200, but is better dated about the year 150.²⁵ The attempt to identify these two men based on these fragmentary names, the one ending in θένης, the other beginning Δημοκ is, to say the very least, a stretch. There are more than a dozen common names of the correct length that end in θένης and at least four other common ones besides Demokles that begin Δημοκ, namely Δημοκίδης, Δημοκλείδης, Δημοκράτης, and Δημοκρίτος. The restoration

24 Meritt 1957: 62.

25 Tracy 1990: 151, 161.

is, pun intended, without merit. And, in fairness to Habicht, he indicated his doubts with question marks. The archon [- c. 3 i]ppus is best left floating as one who held office about the year 200; cf. *IG* 11³ 1250 and 1251 in the new edition.

The archon Timou[chus]? was assigned to 191/0 by both scholars. However, his name is partially preserved only once, in line 9 of *IG* 11³ 1408 (*Ag.* xv 163) with, in the next line, only the first three letters, ΣΩΚ, of either the secretary's name or of his father's. It is impossible to be certain which it is. Looking for a secretary of the correct year, Meritt restored Timouchus as the archon in the very fragmentary preamble *Ag.* xvi 263 (now *IG* 11³ 1381), which preserves the demotic Πρα[σ]τεύς (Pandionis 111) at the end of line 3. Nothing remains of the archon's name in this inscription or of the secretary's. In fact measurement suggests that the archon name here should be about 11 letters long (*IG* 11³ 1381 line 1). Timouchus' name has 8. The attempt to put Timouchus together with this secretary has very little to recommend it, except that Prasieus is from tribe 111, the one needed in 191/0. Timouchus, in fact, can only be dated by the working career of the man who inscribed the prytany decree in which he appears. He is the Cutter of *Ag.* i 247 as 1, for want of knowing his real name, have dubbed him. He was active from 194 to 147 B.C.²⁶

My final example – Habicht placed the archon Ancylus with a question mark in 195/4 and suggested that he be restored as the archon in the preamble of *IG* 11³ 1259 (11² 702). Ancylus' name, however, actually occurs only in *IG* 11³ 1246 (*Ag.* xv 165), a prytany decree which has a well-preserved but curiously truncated preamble. It was passed when Pandionis was in prytany – the number of the prytany is not given – on the 21st of an unnamed month and the 24th day of the prytany. *IG* 11³ 1259 (11² 702) was passed when Pandionis was holding the 6th prytany on the 21st of Maemacterion which was the 11th day of the prytany. These preambles cannot be assigned to the same year; they are not compatible and in consequence Ancylus cannot be restored in *IG* 11³ 1259 (11² 702) and dated to 195/4. Rather Ancylus is another floater who must be dated ca. 200.

Some progress has been made in the last quarter century. (See the third column of table one.) Let us summarize the results of work since 1982. The known archons formerly assigned to the years 229/8 to 203/2 are all to be dated one year later based on the one-year down-dating of the archon Thrasysphon to 220/19 first suggested by John Morgan and ably argued by Michael Osborne.²⁷ Thus the new lower dates for Apollodorus and Proxenides. The present speaker, as already mentioned, placed Tychandrus in 196/5, had determined that *IG* 11³

26 Tracy 1990: 99–108.

27 Morgan 1996, Osborne 2008 and 2010.

1259 (11² 702) with an archon name of about 7½ letters and a secretary from tribe XI belonged in 195/4,²⁸ and moved Achaius from 166/5 to 190/89.²⁹ Lastly, Carl Ruck, Angelos Matthaïou and David Lewis have shown that the archon Charicles belongs in 184/3 and not in 196/5.³⁰

But, now thanks to the new ephebic text, there is more. It includes a second decree (IG 11³ 1256 lines 41–63) honoring a certain Chremes of Myrrhinoutta, the *kosmetes* of these ephebes, passed not in Tychandrus' year but in the year of A[r]chippus, yet another new archon. The secretary came from Sounion (Attalis XII). We observe in these years that the secretary cycle had apparently restarted. If so, Archippus cannot be dated in 195/4 immediately after Tychandrus whose secretary came from Marathon (Aiantis X). There must have been a year intervening with a secretary from tribe XI. The sequence of these archons then is Sositeles (197/6), Tychandrus (196/5), - - 7-8 - - - (195/4), Archippus (194/3). The list from 204/3 to 189/8 may now be set out as shown in table two.

TABLE 1.2

204/3	1		Diodotus 8
203/2	2	i	Apollodorus IX
202/1	3		Proxenides X
201/0	4		
200/199	5	i	
199/8	6		
198/7	7		
197/6	8	i	Sositeles 9?
196/5	9	[1]	Tychandrus X
195/4	10	i	- - 7-8 - - - XI
194/3	11		A[r]chippus XII
193/2	12		Phanarchides I
192/1	13	i [O]	Diodotus after Ph. II
191/0	14		Dionysius? 3
190/89	15		Achaius IV
189/8	16	i	Euthycritus V

28 Tracy 1978: 257–258.

29 Tracy 1984.

30 Ruck 1967: 25–30, Matthaïou 1988 and Lewis 1988.

What stands out immediately is the complete lack of evidence for the archons of the war years. It is also beyond doubt that the crisis of these years caused a break in the secretary cycle; it had resumed by Tychandrus' year and continued regularly until there was again a break shortly after the year 155/4. The gap and the break are strong testimony of the disruption of normal civic activity at Athens during the war. It is notable that there was also a very long delay in honoring Chremes, the *kosmetes* of 197/6. In the new inscription, the decree honoring the ephebes was passed during the third prytany of 196/5, while the one for Chremes was not put forward until the eleventh prytany of 194/3, that is, more than two and one half years later. This surely is indicative of the problems that the assembly encountered in resuming normal business after the war.

Historical arguments and the secretary cycle, to reiterate, strongly show that the sequence of the archons from 197/6 to 189/8 is as presented in this table. The problem (and there is almost always a problem with establishing the Athenian archon list) is that this sequence conflicts at points with the Metonic cycle which, if John Morgan's work is correct, should not be the case. For those of you who don't know, or need reminding, what this is: the astronomer Meton developed a system of 19 year cycles designed to reconcile the difference in length between the solar (364+ days) and lunar years (354). The 2nd, 5th, 8th, 10th, 13th, 16th, and 18th years of each cycle were ordinarily designated as years in which a month was to be intercalated. Morgan has argued that this system was adhered to rather strictly, so far as our evidence allows us to see, from the mid-fourth century B.C. until the early third century A.D. with (I quote) "rare exceptions in times of political irregularity."³¹ In table two the second column gives the year number of the Metonic cycle and a small case i is placed in the third column where an intercalary year would normally be expected.

There are at least two years in this table where a divergence occurs. The calendar of Tychandrus' year has been interpreted by everyone as intercalary; but, he falls in 196/5, year 9 in the Metonic cycle, a year that ought to have been ordinary. The opposite is true of Diodotus after Phanarchides' year (192/1). It is ordinary in year 13 of the cycle, a year that ought to have been intercalary. It is clear that the usual pattern of ordinary and intercalary years was not operating in these years. Morgan had allowed that this could happen during times of "political irregularity." The war certainly qualifies as such a time. It was one of the most terrible crises the city had ever faced. Her very existence was threatened. It is not difficult to imagine that at such a time many irregularities may have crept into the calendar and that normal adjustments, intercalations,

³¹ Morgan 1996.

were not made systematically. Based on the evidence available, the conclusion must be that a major dislocation in the Metonic cycle occurred during the years of the war that carried over for at least five years after it.

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From Coast to Coast: Epigraphic Evidence for Cult and Religion in Coastal Demes of Attica¹

Ilaria Bultrighini

This study originated from a broader research on coastal demes of Attica.² It deals with sacred aspects of a selected number of rural demes of the Paralia, in order to identify the cults practiced within the boundaries of the various local communities, and to delineate a framework of the forms of worship in the areas of Attica which will be taken into account.³ Although the essential contribution offered by archaeological evidence and literary sources is constantly taken into consideration, this paper focuses on the epigraphic material.

The demes dealt with form two main groups according to their location within the region: Anagyrous, Lamptrai,⁴ Anaphlystos and Phrearrhioi on the West coast, and Teithras, Myrrhinous, Halai Araphenides, Prasiai on the East coast of Attica (Fig. 2.1).⁵

The evidence suggests a widespread practice of cults tightly bound to the land and markedly of non-urban character in the demes situated on the West coast. Here the main worshipped deities appear indeed to be the Nymphs, along with Pan, Hermes, and other divinities deeply related to natural elements and to the rural world, as Hermaphroditos, the Charites, and Cybele. Furthermore, the archaeological evidence demonstrates a massive presence of shrines in the form of rural naiskoi, small sanctuaries on the top of hills, and

1 All dates are BCE.

2 The study is part of my PhD research project on coastal demes of Attica, which is now forthcoming as a monograph ("Demi attici della Paralia") in the Koinos Logos series published by Rocco Carabba. The main work on Attic demes of Paralia is Eliot 1962. Eliot's essential contribution includes a detailed study of ten demes situated between Halimous and Sounion on the west coast of Attica. For a comprehensive overview on demes of Attica, see Whitehead 1986.

3 On Attic demes' religion, see above all Mikalson 1977, Whitehead 1986: 176–222, Parker 2005: 50–78 (based on Parker 1987), and Humphreys 2004: 130–196. See also Henrichs 1990: 259–164. Solders 1931 offers a useful catalogue of the literary evidence for cults in the demes, whereas its record of epigraphic evidence is clearly out of date.

4 Lamptrai was a split deme, i.e. it was constituted by two distinct Cleisthenic communities, Upper Lamptrai and Lower Lamptrai, both belonging to Erechtheis during the original tenphylai period. In the present work, only Lower Lamptrai will be taken into consideration.

5 For Tribe and Tritty's assignments and for demes locations, see Traill 1986: 123–149.

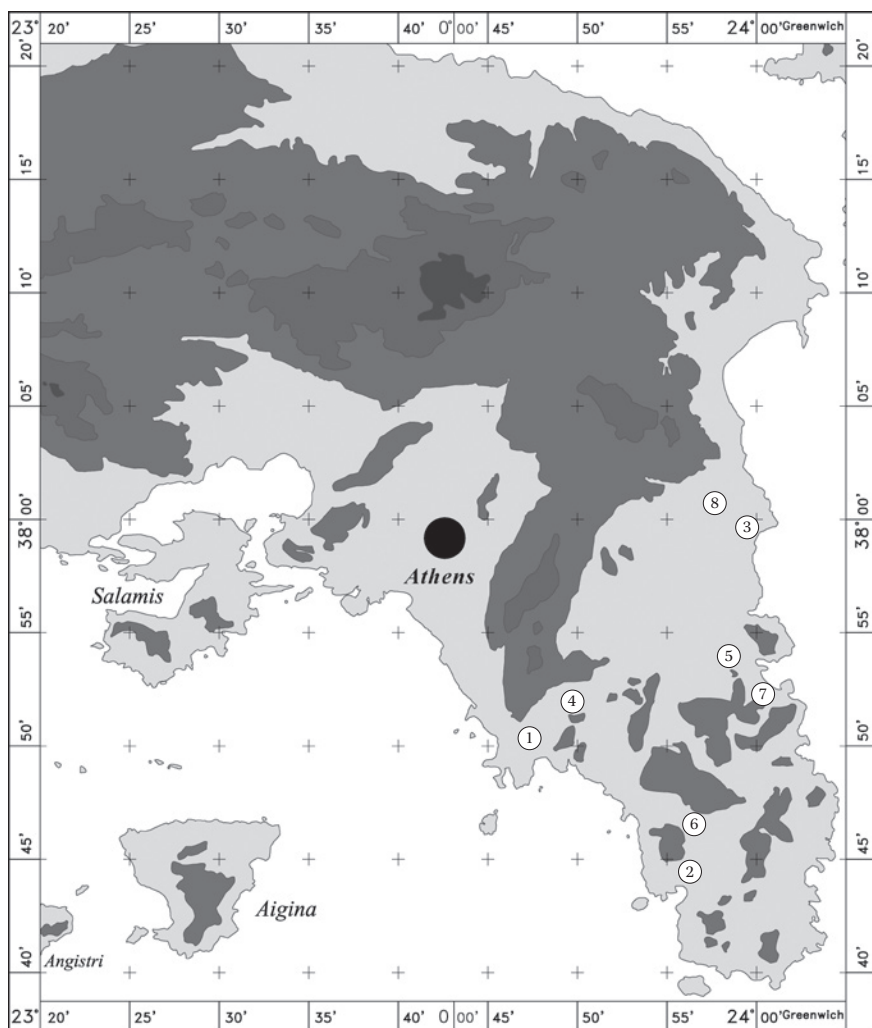


FIGURE 2.1 *Map of Attica.*

GRAPHIC PROJECT BY G. KALAITZOGLOU, RUHR-UNIVERSITÄT BOCHUM

KEY TO NUMBERS: 1) ANAGYROUS 2) ANAPHYSTOS 3) HALAI ARAPHENIDES

4) LAMPTRAI 5) MYRRHINOUS 6) PHREARRHIOI 7) PRASIAI 8) TEITHRAS

sacred caves, which are often located quite far from the demes' center, thus confirming the peculiar character of religious practices within this area. Even so, significant aspects emerging from some inscriptions indicate connections with State and Panhellenic cults.

Conversely, Artemis undoubtedly plays a leading role in the cultic life of demes located on the East coast of Attica. Epigraphic and literary sources agree

in attesting the worship of the goddess in this area: Artemis is known as Kolainis at Myrrhinous whereas she has the epithet of Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides. Moreover, the well-known sanctuary of the Brauronia stood in close proximity of the latter deme. In addition to Artemis, other Olympic and civic gods, such as Apollo, known both as Delios and Pythios, Zeus, Athena, Demeter and Aphrodite, benefit from the veneration of demotai on the Eastern coast.⁶ It is also important to note that sanctuaries and places of cult situated on the East coast show a more canonic and urban configuration, lying usually within or in close proximity of the core of demes. On the one hand, this situation confirms the general cultic background of rural Attica, where the Olympians seem to predominate as their cult was spread from Athens during the internal colonization of Attica from the ninth century onwards.⁷ Accordingly the evidence, and in particular the preserved sacred calendars,⁸ point to a general predominance of Zeus, Apollo and Athena. On the other hand, this situation highlights the potential specificity of the cultic context of the Western sector of Attica considered here, still bearing in mind that in the religious framework of rural Attica, as Mikalson states, “the relative importance of deities obviously varied significantly from area to area” and “individual demes might devote special worship to a deity closely linked with their own locality, as for example Athmonon did to Artemis Amarisia (*IG* 1² 865, 11² 1203, and Paus. 1.31.4) and Aixone did to Hebe (*IG* 11² 1199).”⁹

Let us turn our attention to the evidence. Each deme is considered individually, beginning with the West coast and proceeding from North to South.¹⁰

A well-known shrine is situated at Anagyrous (Fig. 2.1), which is deeply rural in all its aspects: the Vari Cave.¹¹ Cult inside the cave was practiced from the

6 I am not going to deal with the abundant and significant epigraphic, literary and archaeological evidence attesting the widespread celebration of the Rural Dionysia in the demes. For a recent discussion and bibliography, see Jones 2004: 124–158.

7 See Mikalson 1977: 432: “Most of the religious observances in the demes were directed either to local cults of the Olympians or to the numerous local heroes and lesser deities.”

8 Five sacrificial calendars of the demes are preserved, from Thorikos (*SEG* 33. 147) Erchia (*SEG* 21. 541), the Marathonian Tetrapolis and its constitutive demes (*IG* 11² 1358), Eleusis (*IG* 11² 1363) and Teithras (*SEG* 21. 542). All but the Thorikos calendar have been fully described by Dow 1968. See also Mikalson 1977, Whitehead 1986: 185–204, Parker 1987: 144–147, Rosivach 1994: 13–40, Verbanck-Piérard 1998, Humphreys 2004: 155–188. The Teithras calendar will be further discussed below.

9 Mikalson 1977: 432.

10 In the interest of brevity, only the most significant epigraphic and archaeological documents are considered here.

11 The cave and its findings have been fully described by its first excavators, Weller – Dunham – Carleton Thallon – Shaw King – Baldwin – Bassett 1903, and in recent times

fifth century until late Antiquity, when Christian rites were established there. During the pagan phase several deities were worshipped, but the central cult was surely that of the Nymphs, as a series of interesting inscriptions and marble reliefs, which were found inside the cave, reveal. The most ancient epigraphic text for the Nymphs is a dedication on a sandstone slab offered by a goatherd around the middle of the fifth century or slightly earlier:¹²

Τόνδε ταί(ς) Νύ(μ)-
φαισιν· ὁ
Σκύρονος
ἡιπόλος.

This offered to the Nymphs Skyron's goatherd.

The remaining inscriptions dealing with the Nymphs pertain to Archedamos from Thera, who took care of the renovation and decoration of the cave approximately in the third quarter of the same century. This is indicated by two inscriptions carved on both sides of a limestone block.¹³ The first one says that Archedamos – the name is in the Doric form – planted a garden – *καπον*, also in the Doric form – for the Nymphs:

Ἀρχέδαμος ὁ Θερ-
αῖος *καπον* νύ-
μφαις ἐφύτευσεν.

The second inscription shows a similar structure, stating that Archedemos – in this case, in the Ionic form – built *something else* – expressed by *καί* after his name, here for a single Nymph:

Ἀρχέδεμος ὁ Θερ-
αῖος καὶ ΧΟΛΟΝΟΔ-
ΧΕΣΤΕ[.] Νύμφαι ἐχ-
σοικοδόμησεν

by Schörner – Goette 2004. For a comprehensive bibliography on each inscription cited below, see Schörner – Goette 2004: 42–59.

12 IG I³ 974.

13 IG I³ 977.

The meaning of the series of letters placed between καί and the verb ἐχσιν[οδό]-μεσεν is puzzling (Fig. 2.2). Although scholars offered several interpretations of the text, a satisfactory reading is still lacking.¹⁴

A rupestral inscription carved in the entrance area of the cave says: “Archedemos from Thera, the *nympholeptos* – i.e. possessed by the Nymphs – built the cave by request of the Nymphs”:¹⁵



FIGURE 2.2 Detail of IG I³ 977 b.

EPIGRAPHICAL MUSEUM OF ATHENS. PHOTO I. BULTRIGHINI

14 A synthesis of the discussion can be found in Schörner – Goette 2004: 52–54, Connor 1988: 166–174, Purvis 2003: 44–50. The text presented here corresponds to the edition offered by Schörner – Goette 2004. The underlined letters went lost after the discovery of the stone, but before that happened, they were recorded by Chandler and Gell. My examination of the inscription in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (July 2011) led to the following new reading of lines 2–3: XOΔΟΝΟΔ|ΧΕΞΤΙ. Unfortunately this reading does not seem to solve the exegetic problems caused by these letters. A detailed explanation of the study conducted at the Epigraphical Museum of Athens can be found in the forthcoming monograph based on my PhD dissertation, cf. note 2.

15 IG I³ 980.

Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Θ-
 ηραῖος ὁ νυμφ-
 όληπτος φραδ-
 αῖσι Νυμφῶν τ-
 ἄντρον ἐξηργ- 5
 άξατο

Archedemos apparently set up this inscription after he completed the whole work requested by the Nymphs, as it is demonstrated by the paleography of the text, which indicates a date around the end of the fifth century.

Epigraphic evidence in the cave also reveals the presence of Pan,¹⁶ the Charites, or a single Charis,¹⁷ and Apollo, apparently characterized as Hersos.¹⁸ Moreover, considering further evidence discovered within the cave we can assume that Artemis,¹⁹ and possibly Cybele²⁰ had a cult there. As for the latter goddess, one might wonder whether what Pausanias reports (1. 31. 1) about the presence of a hieron of the Mother of Gods at Anagyrous could be related to the cave at Vari.²¹

A small base of Pentelic marble which was found in the area of the ancient deme of Anagyrous records a unique dedication to Hermaphroditos, the mythological figure born from the union of Hermes and Aphrodite, which a woman called Phano offered around the beginning of the fourth century.²²

16 IG I³ 976 b–c.

17 IG I³ 976 a.

18 IG I³ 981. The inscription was carved in the living rock below a niche, but disappeared between 1878 and 1887. The text can therefore be analyzed only on the basis of the drawings and readings offered by 19th century travelers, such as Curtius and Kaupert, who visited the cave towards the end of that century.

19 The cult of the goddess is demonstrated by the discovery of one fragment of a *krateriskos*, which is the vase type characteristic of the cult of Artemis. A number of intact *krateriskoi* were found in the Cave of Eleusis too, where Artemis had a cult together with the Nymphs.

20 The seated female statue carved in the rock inside the cave is probably Cybele, although her identity has been intensely debated. Recently, Xagorari-Gleißner 2008: 21–22, and Vikela 2001: 68–69, note 1, offer two opposite opinions on the question.

21 I am not assuming that the hieron mentioned by Pausanias should be identified with the Vari cave, where the major cult was surely that of the Nymphs. Nonetheless, the Periegetes could have made an inaccurate reference.

22 Kirchner – Dow 1937: 7–8, no. 5, pl. 4.3, Threutte 1980: 50–51, no. 7, LIMC 5, 1, s.v. Hermaphroditos, 269–270, Stupperich 1990: 75–76, no. 67, SEG 40. 195 bis. On March 24, 2011, I had the opportunity to examine the stone, which is held at the Archaeological Museum of Münster University, Germany. I detected slight traces of the first letter on

[Φ]ανῶ Ἑρμαφρω[δί]-
τωι εὐξαμένη.

Phano (dedicated) to Hermaphroditos in fulfillment of a vow.²³

Thus, Phano expressed her devotion towards Hermaphroditos in fulfillment of a vow.²⁴ She probably offered a herm, or a minute sculpture, given the small dimensions of the marble base. We could suppose the existence of a small hieron or naiskos dedicated to Hermaphroditos, where Phano may have placed her offering.²⁵ However, it is important to point out that in general there is no evidence that Hermaphroditos ever received worship and, therefore, a sanctuary or temple consecrated to him would be without parallel.²⁶

the left (Φ) as well as of the last letter on the right (Δ) in the first line of the inscription. As for the lacking iota of Hermaphroditos, there is enough space for it both at the end of line 1 and at the beginning of line 2. Furthermore, I could ascertain that the base with the dedication must have been reused: all the faces of the block (except its base) were polished. This determined a lowering of the upper surface and a consequent reduction of the inscribed area; as a result, the first line of the inscription ended up running very close to the upper edge of the base, being also partly cut by it.

- 23 The formula ὁ δεῖνα εὐξάμενος (ἀνέθηκε) is dominant in the archaic and classical period, while from the fourth century onwards the aorist participle is normally replaced by the noun εὐχήν, cf. Parker 2005a: 276.
- 24 Only two other inscriptions mention Hermaphroditos: the first is SEG 26 139 (second half of the second century), an inventory of sculptures depicting divinities and mythological figures which decorated a series of rooms of a gymnasium. The other inscription is Segre 1993: EV 18, (third century) a quadrangular ara which has been interpreted as a domestic altar. On each face of this altar are inscribed the names of a group of divinities. Hermaphroditos appears on face b, where the minor divinities of nature are recorded, i.e. Helios, Hemera, the Horai, the Charites, the Nymphs, Priapus, Pan, and finally Hermaphroditos. An Attic example of multiple-altar with dedication to deities of this type (namely, Hermes, the Nymphs, Isis, Aphrodite, ad Pan) is IG II² 4994.
- 25 Cf., however, Parker 2005a: 271, "Herms and altars could be dedicated away from sanctuaries because they brought, as it were, their own gods with them."
- 26 The earliest literary reference to Hermaphroditos is Theophr. *Charakt.* 16. 10, which describes the superstitious. In addition to many other compulsive acts of devotion, the superstitious man used to hang wreaths on a statue of Hermaphroditos – which was inside his house – on the fourth and seventh day of the month. Then, according to Theophrastus, he worshipped the mythological figure inside his house. If so, we could also assume that our dedication originally stood inside a private house. Alternatively, considering that in the aforementioned domestic altar from Kos Hermaphroditos is recorded together with the Nymphs, Pan and the Charites, it cannot be excluded that the marble

At Anagyrous we also have evidence for the cult of the Dioscuri. The worship of the divine twins is attested by an inscription carved on a limestone altar that was found sunk into the ground south of the village of Vari.²⁷ The inscription says: ANAKOIN. This is the usual denomination of the Laconian gods in Attica.²⁸ The altar size, about 80 cm. wide, could indicate that it was placed inside a quite small hieron. However, the altar could also be connected to the rite known as Theoxenia, “god-entertaining,” which was characteristic of the cult of the Dioscuri.²⁹ This ritual, in which the gods were literally “invited to dinner,” could be performed either by the State at its public hearth – or a comparable place –, or by individuals in their own houses. Therefore, a small shrine or temple dedicated to the Dioscuri at Anagyrous is not necessarily to be conjectured.

In the neighboring deme of Lower Lamptrai (Fig. 2.1) a cult and a related shrine dedicated to the Nymphs is attested by an acephalous inscription regarding the cult of the goddesses and the tariffs connected with the use of the Halykos spring, which was situated by their sanctuary.³⁰ The stoichedon text is inscribed on a white marble stele:

1 v. deletus

[.....]Λ...Ι[...κ]αὶ θ[ύ]εν τ[ῆ]σι
 [Νύ]μφησι κατὰ τὴν μαντεία[ν τή]-
 [ν ἐ]μ Πυθῶθεν· τελεῖν δὲ ὀβολὸ[ν τ]-
 [ὸ]ς πίνοντας τὸ Ἄλυκὸ τὸ ἐνια[υ]- 5
 [τ]ὸ ἐκάστο ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ τῆσι Νύμ[φ]-

base once was in the Vari Cave, where the ambiguous deity perhaps shared the cult with those rural divinities.

27 Milchhöfer 1888: 361 no. 763, *IG* 11² 4981. Cf. Lauter 1991: 82.

28 The Athenian shrine of the Dioscuri was known as Anakeion. However, the title Anakes, “Lords,” was not confined to Attica, but was used in other parts of Greece as well. On the Dioscuri, see *RE* 5, 1, s. v. Dioskuren.

29 For Theoxenia, see Jameson 1994, Ekroth 2002: 136–140, Bruit-Lissarague 2005, with full bibliography.

30 Mitsos 1965, Bousquet 1967, Sokolowski 1969: no. 178, Camp 1977: 345, no. T93, Hallof 1993: no. 19, *IG* 1³ 256, Meyer 2004. Cf. Koerner 1974: 173–174, Panessa 1983: 365–369, Humphreys 2004: 135–136. The stele was found in the coastal locality named Λομβάρδας or Λουμπάρδα, in the close vicinity of a spring still known today as Πηγὰδι τοῦ Ἄλυκοῦ. The study of the squeeze of the inscription in Berlin (May 2011), as well as of the stone itself at the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (July 2011) allowed me to identify a mu at the beginning of line 4, where others have read a kappa (cf. *app. cr.* in *IG* 1³ 256), and to clearly read the omega in ἀμφορέω[ς] in l. 12, which was marked as tentative in previous editions.

[η]σι· ὅστις δ' ἂν μὴ καταθῇ τὸν ὀ[β]-
 [ο]λόν, μὴ πινέτω τὸ Ἄλυκῶ· ἐὰν δέ
 τις βιαζόμενος πίνῃ, ἀποτίν-
 ἐν πέντε δραχμάς. ἐάν τις φέρῃ- 10
 [ι] ἢ ἄγγι τὸ ὕδατος [μὴ] καταθῇς ὀ-
 βολόν τὸ ἀμφορέω[ς] ἐκάστο, ὅφε-
 [ι]λέτω ¹¹ ἱερὰς τα[ίς] Νύμφαις νν
 vacat

[- - - - -] and to s[a]crifice [to the Ny]mphs under the regulations of the oracle [at] Delphi. [Tho]se drinking at the Halykos shall deposit one obol once a year for the sacrifices to the Nym[ph]s. In case anyone does not pay the o[bo]l, he shall not drink at the Halykos. If someone drinks by force, he shall pay a five drachmas fine. If someone loads or carries away water, [not] paying one obol for each amphor[a], he shall o[w]e fifty drachmas, which will be sacred to t[he] Nymphs.

The date of the inscription is still under discussion, ranging from the years 440–430 to the beginning of the fourth century.³¹ In addition to providing evidence for the cult of these rural deities in Lower Lamptrai, the inscription also refers to the Panhellenic sanctuary of Delphi, as we read in lines 3–4: κατὰ τὴν μαντεία[ν τὴν][ν ἐ]μ Πυθῶθεν. The participation of the Pythia apparently consisted in authorizing and regulating the sacrifice offered to the Nymphs,

31 *IG* I³ 256, Hallof 1993, Humphreys 2004 propose the earlier date, whereas Mitsos 1965, Bousquet 1967, Sokolowski 1969 and Panessa 1983 assume the later one. The paleography does not seem to contradict a high chronology. As for the coexistence of the archaic (τῆσι Νύμφησι, l. 2–3 e 5–6) and of the classical (ταῖς Νύμφαις, l. 13) forms of the plural dative, it should be noted that until 420 ca. the usual form in public documents is –ησι(ν). The ending –αις actually appears as early as 460, but it is extremely rare until 420. However, the coexistence of the two forms is otherwise attested exclusively in the Kallias decree (*IG* I³ 52), whose date is much debated, fluctuating between 434/3 and the final years of the 20's, Threatte 1996: 96–97. The use of the Ionic alphabet does not necessarily imply a dating in the end of the fifth century, because, as it is well known, its introduction must have occurred long before the proposal advanced by Archinos in 403. In this respect, cf. the sacrificial calendar of Thorikos (*SEG* 33. 147), where the new alphabet is used, but for which some scholars propose a date between 440 and 420, as the hand of this inscription can be assimilated to that of the Kallias decree. For a recent synthesis of the debate on such chronological aspects, cf. Lupu 2005: 124–125. Considering these observations, the sacred law connected with the Nymphaion at Lower Lamptrai should be probably dated to around 420.

presumably along with a few other cultic acts which were originally recorded on the upper part of the inscription, now lost.

The Nymphs had a cult in the deme of Anaphlystos too, which was situated a little south of Lower Lamptraí (Fig. 2.1). Within the territory of this deme there was a cave of the Nymphs, inside which a spring gushed out.³² In this instance there are no epigraphic documents attesting that the place was sacred to these goddesses. However, caves are favorite places for the cult of the Nymphs, which are also closely linked to springs and water. In addition, sanctuary pottery was found inside the cave, and in particular many sherds of black figure miniaturistic lekythoi, which were the typical votives for the Nymphs.³³ These pottery findings also date the cultic use of the cave during the archaic and classical periods.

A dedication to Hermes is inscribed on a marble base, which was reused as a seat in front of the chapel of Agios Giorgos at Anavyssos:³⁴

Ἑρμῇ μν(η)μεῖον Λυσάνδρου.

To Hermes, as a memorial of Lysandros.³⁵

The inscription dates to the beginning of the fourth century and may indicate that in antiquity a small-sized shrine, possibly dedicated to Hermes, preceded the church of Agios Giorgos.³⁶

In 1970 a *lex sacra* was found by the village of Olympos, in the territory of the deme of Phrearrhioi, which adjoined Anaphlystos to the South (Fig. 2.1). This inscription,³⁷ dating to 300–250, is carved on a rather fragmentary white marble stele. It consists of a series of regulations for sacrifices to be performed in an

32 Lohmann 1993: vol. 1, see Index, s. v. "Nymphengrotte," vol. 2, 494, pl. 52, 8 and 122.

33 Lohmann 1993: vol. 1, 230–231, vol. 2, 494. Küpper 1990: 18–19, also reports the discovery of the lower part of a molded idol. For the connection between Nymphs and springs, see Muthmann 1975: 87–112.

34 Milchhöfer 1887: 304 no. 304, *IG* II² 4550.

35 For the singularity of the use of the term μνημεῖον in votive context, see below about the two dedications from Merenda made by a certain Xenophon.

36 Small churches scattered in the Attic countryside often replaced ancient pagan shrines or temples. It should be noted that in the close proximity of the church of Agios Giorgos a fragment of marble relief was found, which was reused as building material (Milchhöfer 1887: 303–304, no. 303). Inscription and relief could indicate an ancient site nearby; alternatively, both could have been transferred from elsewhere to be reused.

37 Vanderpool 1970, Sokolowski 1971, Simms 1998, Lupu 2003, Lupu 2005: no. 3. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* 85, 1972 no. 150, Whitehead 1986: 79, note 54, 205–206.

Eleusinion, and of a list of priestly prerogatives for the sacrifices. The text mentions the Eleusinian goddesses, Kore and Demeter, along with their associates Pluton and Iacchos. In addition, Demeter Thesmophoros is involved:³⁸

[..... τῶν ἱε]ροποιῶν α[—————Δή]-
 [μητρι Θεσμο]φόρῳ ἵν πρ[—————]
 [..... πρ]ριστάντωσαν κα[—————]
 [.....]. αδος τῷ λαμπαδεῖ[ωι—————]
 [ἱερεῶσ]υνα κωλὴν πλευρὸν ἰ(σ)χ[ίον—————οἱ ἱε]- 5
 [ροποι]οὶ καὶ ὁ κήρυξ δαινύσθω[σαν—————]
 [... Π]λούτωνι θυόντῳσαν κρ[ίον] [ν—————τοῖς]
 [δημ]όταις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ν [—————]
 [.. τ]ὸν ἐν τῷ Ἐλευ(σ)ινίῳ βωμὸν [—————τῶν ἄκ]-
 [ολ]οῦθωμ ἱεροποιὸς ἀφιέτω τασ[—————] 10
 [.. ἐ]πειδὴν αἱ ἱέρειαι ποιήσω[σι—————]
 [.. Φρεα(ρ)ρίων θυόντῳσαν τῇ Δή[μητρι—————]
 [..]ιω καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ βοῦμ ἄρρε[να—————]
 [..] καὶ ἐάν τι ἄλλο βούλωνται νν [—————νο]
 μι(μ)ὸν ἐστίν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς βωμοῦ[ς—————] 15
 ι μήρους μασχαλίσματα ἡμίκ(ρ)α[ιρα—————μ]-
 ηρούς μασχαλίσματα ἡμίκραιρ[α—————]
 ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ[ι—————τῷ τ]-
 οῦ Πλούτωνος βωμῷ ἱερεῶσυν[α—————τοῖν θε]-
 οῖν τῶν βω(μ)ῶν τῇ ἱερείᾳ κα[—————πλε]- 20
 υρὸν ἰσχίον ||| τοῦ ἱερείου [—————ξ]-
 ὕλα ἐπὶ τὸν χύτρον παρ[ε] [—————ἐν τῇ]-
 ι αὐλῇ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου[υ—————]
 υσ(.)ν δαῖδα καὶ τῶν ηγ[—————δ]-
 αῖδα διδόντῳσαν γ[—————] 25
 [..]ς καὶ τοῦ Ἰάκχου ι[—————]
 [..] οἰ(.) τῇ δὲ ἐβδό[μηι—————]
 [...] καὶ τῆς μουσ[ι]κῆς [—————]
 [.....] τὸν βωμ[ὸν—————]
 [.....]ενοι[—————] 30
 [.....]εμι[—————]
 [... ..]ο[—————]

38 Clinton 1996: 122 presumes that a sacrifice to Demeter Thesmophoros was performed in the Eleusinion in question.

[- - -] of the hieropoioi [- - -] a sow to [Demeter Thesmo]phoros [- - -]
 [- - -] they shall set before [- - -] [- - -] to the torch holder [- - -] the priestly
 prerogatives: leg, loin, haunch [- - -] [- - -] The [hieropoioi] and the her-
 ald shall eat [- - -] [- - -] they shall sacrifice a ram to Plouton [- - -] for?
 [the demesmen] together with the others and [- - -] [- - -] the altar at
 the Eleusinion [- - -] of? [the attendants] the hieropoios shall consecrate
 [- - -] [- - -] once the priestesses made [- - -] [- - -] of the Phrearrhians, they
 shall sacrifice to Demeter [- - -] [- - -] and to Kore a male bovine [- - -] [- - -]
 and if they wish something else [- - -] it is allowed. But upon the altars
 [- - -] thighs, pieces cut off from the shoulders, half the head [- - -] thighs,
 pieces cut off from the shoulders, half the head [- - -] on the altar at the
 Eleusinion [- - -] altar of Plouton. The priestly prerogatives: [- - -] of the
 altars for the priestess [- - -] loin, haunch, three obols, of the victim [- - -]
 [provide] wood for the pot [- - -] the court of the Eleusinion [- - -] a torch
 and of the [- - -] they shall give a torch [- - -] [- - -] and of Iacchus [- - -]
 [- - -] on the seventh [- - -] [- - -] and of music [- - -] [- - -] the altar [- - -].

The most important aspect of the *lex sacra* in connection with the present study, and seemingly the most discussed one among scholars, concerns the location of the Eleusinion named in the inscription. Since the stone was found in the area of the ancient Phrearrhioi, and the people of this deme are mentioned in the text, the *lex sacra* clearly concerns this community. But is the shrine in question, with the related sacrifices and cultic activities, connected to the Great Mysteries held at Eleusis or at Athens, where the Phrearrhioi perhaps participated as a deme community, or was it a local Eleusinion, situated within the deme, a sort of branch of the main sanctuaries of Eleusis and Athens? The question is currently open.³⁹ Whether we accept the former or the latter hypothesis, the *lex sacra* from Olympos provides evidence of relations between the main state cults and some rural demes of Attica, which actively participated in the main urban rites and probably sometimes reproduced locally, in minor scale, the rituals and the activities that were performed in the main city sanctuaries.

Moving from the West to the East coast of Attica, the first deme to be considered, proceeding from North to South, is that of Teithras (Fig. 2.1). A fragment

39 Vanderpool 1970: 49, Sokolowski 1971: 219 and Osborne 1985: 177, assume that the *lex sacra* refers to an Eleusinion in the deme, while Simms 1998: 101–103 believes that the venue of our inscription is the City Eleusinion. His proposal is followed by Robertson 1996: 351, note 93. More recently, Parker 2005: 332–333 has asserted that “the case against the Eleusinion being local is quite strong.”

of an opisthographic stele was found in its territory, which records approximately one month of the sacrificial calendar of the deme.⁴⁰ The text, dating to the first half of the fourth century, is highly fragmentary, thus allowing to recognize only the name of two of the deities originally registered: Zeus and Athena (lines 4 and 9):

face A		
□ +	Boηδ[ρομιώνος]	
	τετρ[άδι—————]	
	Δί: ἐντ[—————]	
ΔΠ +	οἶν: ἄρρεν	5
ΠΠ	ἱερεῖώσυνα	
	τετράδι φθ[ίνοντος]	
ΠΠΠ	Ἀθηνᾶι οἶν[—————]	
	Δί: προθύ[ματα]	
	χοῖρον γα[λαθηνόν],	9
	[ι]ερεώσυ[να]	
	[- - -]εσθη [—————]	

[- - -] seven drachmas. On the fou[rth or fourteenth] of Boed[romion], a ram worth seventeen drachmas (is to be offered) to Zeus in the [- - -]. The priestly prerogatives: seven drachmas. On the twenty-seventh (of Boedromion), a sheep worth four drachmas [- - -] (is to be offered) to Athena. To Zeus, preliminary sacrific[ices] and a suckling pig. The priestly prerogatives [- - - -].

We find Zeus again in a decree of Teithras dating to the mid-fourth century and stipulating a land lease with a demotes called Xanthippos.⁴¹ In the text, the precise position of the rented chorion is explained by mentioning some fields and sacred places adjoining it. A temenos of Zeus appears among them, along with a chorion of Aigeus, a heroion of Epigonos – if the restoration is correct – a Herakleion and a chorion of a further hero, perhaps an anonymous one (ll. 8–12):

40 Pollitt 1961, Sokolowski 1962: 218–219, no. 132, *SEG* 21. 542. Cf. Dow 1968: 176, 184, Whitehead 1986: 186–187.

41 Möbius 1924: 1–13, no. 1, *SEG* 24. 151, Wilhelm 1933/1935: 189–200, Pleket 1964: no. 41, Behrend 1970: no. 24, Papazarkadas 2007, 155–160. Cf. Tréheux 1953: 155–165, Whitehead 1986: 187, 390, no. 123. I follow the new readings offered by Papazarkadas.

ἐ[ψ]ηφίσθαι Τειθ[ρ]ασίοις μι(σ)θῶσαι Ξ-
 ἀνθ[ι]ππωι τὸ [χ]ωρίον τὸ Τεῖθραντι ὧι γε[ι]των [β]ρ-
 [ρᾱ]θε[ν] τὸ [χ]ωρίον τὸ Αἰ[γ]έως καὶ τὸ ἡρώιον τὸ Ἑπ- 10
 [ιγ]ό[νου?], νοτ[ό]θεν δὲ τὸ Ἡράκλειον καὶ τὸ χωρίο-
 [ν] ἡρ[ω]ο[ς]]ας καὶ τὸ τῷ Διὸς] τέμενος

... The demotai of Teith[r]as decreed to rent to Xanthippos the [p]lot of land ad[j]oining Teithras, (which is situated) [n]o[rth] of Ai[g]eus' plot of land and of Ep[ig]o[nos?] heroion, s[o]uth of the Herakleion and of the plot of lan[d] of the her[o]as and of the temenos of Zeu[s].

In the same text, we find a reference to a further sanctuary of the Teithrasioi: lines 21-22 state that a stele containing the decree was to be set up ἐν τῷ Κορεῖῳ, "inside the Koreion." This shrine devoted to Kore must have been quite important in Teithras, being probably the main sanctuary of the deme. Indeed, the same reference to setting up the stele ἐν τῷ Κορεῖῳ appears again in an honorary decree of Teithras dating around 350.⁴² And most likely we are not mistaken when we suppose the presence of the same reference at the end of another decree of the deme, dating to the year 331/0 or 330/29,⁴³ where the following is preserved (ll. 20–21): .. καὶ στήσῃ ἐν τῷ-[ι - - -], "... and it shall be set up] inside the [- - -]."

A dedication to Artemis was found in the same findspot of the inscriptions from Teithras mentioned so far. The text is inscribed on a small votive base offered by a woman called Timostratē or Demostratē:⁴⁴

[- -]μοστρά[τη]
 [Ἀρτ]έμ[ιδι].

[Ti/De]mostra[te] (dedicated) to [Art]em[is].

Artemis was certainly the main deity in the nearby deme of Halai Araphenides (Fig. 2.1), where she bore the epithet of Tauropolos. Literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence agree in attesting the worship of the goddess at Halai Araphenides. Strabo (9. 1. 22), Euripides (*Iph. Taur.* 1453 ss.) and Callimachus (*Hymn* 3. 173 ss.) tell different versions of the story of the temple founded by

42 Möbius 1924: 1–13, no. 3, *SEG* 24. 153, ll. 7–8. Cf. Whitehead 1986: 390, no. 125.

43 Vanderpool 1962: 401–403, no. 3, *SEG* 21. 520, Merritt-Trail 1974: no. 45. Cf. Whitehead 1986: 187, note 60, 390, no. 126.

44 Milchhöfer 1887: 305, no. 315, *IG* 11² 4859.

Orestes at Halai Araphenides after carrying the goddess statue from Tauris, while Menander in the *Epitrepontes* (vv. 450–54 and 470–519) tells us about a festival called Tauropolia, which was celebrated in honor of Artemis in her sanctuary.

In 1925 the literary references were confirmed by the finding of the temple of Artemis Tauropolos, which lies directly on the shore by the modern town of Loutsia. In the proximity of the shrine two decrees of the Halaieis were found, both dating around the mid-fourth century. The first decree stated that the stele containing the inscribed text was to be set up in the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos (ll. 16–17):⁴⁵

[ι καὶ στῆ]σαι ἐν τῷ ἱερ-
[ῳ τῆς Ἀρ]τέμιδος τῆς Τ-
[αυροπόλ]ης

[and it shall be set] up inside the hier[on of Ar]temis T[auropol]os.

The second decree⁴⁶ stated that the stele was to be set up in the sanctuary of Artemis (ll. 28–29):

καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ-
ι ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος.

... and it shall be set up inside the sanctuary of Artemis.

In addition, a third decree of the demotai, which was found by the temple in 1957 and dates to the year 341, provides evidence for the presence in the deme of a sanctuary dedicated to Dionysos, where the stele in question was erected (ll. 17–18): ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ, “inside the Dionysion.”⁴⁷

The deme of Myrrhinous was situated on the modern site of Merenda, a little southwest of the area of the ancient Halai Araphenides (Fig. 2.1). The major cult of Myrrhinous was surely that of Artemis Kolainis. The goddess worship is attested by several literary and epigraphic sources, among which the

45 Kotzias 1925–26: 168–177. Cf. Papadimitriou 1956: 87–89, Whitehead 1986: 381, no. 59, Bardani 1992–1998: 58.

46 Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1929, Stavropoulos 1932, *SEG* 34. 103. Cf. Nemes 1984: 5, no. 3, Whitehead 1986: 381, no. 60, Tracy 1995: 120–128, esp. 124, Bardani 1992–1998: 59.

47 Cf. Whitehead 1986: 381, no. 61, with previous reports on the discovery. The inscription has been first published by Bardani 1992–1998 (*SEG* 46. 153).

most ancient reference is provided by Aristophanes' *Birds* (vv. 870–873) and by a series of scholia to the same passage. It is stated there that the epithet of Kolainis derives from Kolainos, a descendant of Hermes who allegedly founded the sanctuary. Pausanias too (1. 31. 4–6) states that Kolainos was the founder of the shrine. Pausanias says that, according to the Myrrhinousioi, Kolainos was one of the legendary kings who reigned over Attica before Kekrops. The cult of Artemis Kolainis is also epigraphically attested, first of all by an honorary decree of the Myrrhinousioi dating to the mid-fourth century and containing the instruction to set up the stele with the text ἐ[ν] τῷ ἱερῷ τ[ῆς] Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Κολαινίδος,⁴⁸ “inside the sanctuary of Artemis Kolainis.” This hieron could possibly be identified with a sanctuary found during the recent archaeological excavations conducted in the area of Merenda.⁴⁹ No findings were discovered suggesting the identity of the worshipped deity, but the absolute centrality of the site within the deme plan as well as the magnitude of the structures that were found support this idea. The rest of the epigraphic evidence related to Artemis Kolainis dates to the Roman imperial period and comes both from the deme and from Athens, thus showing that the cult of the goddess was practiced not only at Myrrhinous, but also in the city, where, however, it was probably introduced during the Roman period.⁵⁰

A metrical dedication inscribed on a rectangular slab of Hymettian marble and covered by a modern graffito was found outside the church of Panagia at Merenda and attests the presence of a temenos dedicated to Apollo Pythios at Myrrhinous.⁵¹

[Νίκης (μ'?) ἀ]θάνατογ Ξεγοφῶν μνημεῖον ἑαυτοῦ
[θήκεν Ἀπ]όλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν [τ]εμένει[ι].

48 IG II² 1182, ll. 19–20. Recently, Vivliodeti 2005: 41–43, no. E1, with full bibliography.

49 O. Kakavogianni and V. Argyropoulos in Vasilopoulou, Katsarou-Tzeveleki 2009: 177–188.

50 IG II² 4731, 4746, 4791, 4817, 4860, 5057, 5140. See Vivliodeti 2005: 51–56.

51 Mitsos-Vanderpool 1950: 25–26, no. 1, pl. 15 b, J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1951: 158, no. 88, Vivliodeti 2005: 56–57, no. E13, fig. 10, Feyel 2011, Bultrighini 2013. Cf. O. Kakavogianni in Vasilopoulou, Katsarou-Tzeveleki 2009: 67, O. Kakavogianni – V. Argyropoulos – M. Anetakis – M. Kontopanagou – M. Sklavos, *ibid.*: 119–121, Ch. Feyel, *BE* 2010: 705–706 no. 220 (2), *SEG* 57. 197. There seems to be no sufficient evidence to agree with O. Kakavogianni, who in Vasilopoulou, Katsarou-Tzeveleki 2009: 67, 112–113 identifies “with certainty” a temenos recently discovered at Merenda – where no traces of a temple building have been detected and only pottery dating to the Middle Helladic and Geometric periods have been found – as the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios mentioned in the inscription.

Xenophon [dedicated] [me?] as an [i]mperishable memorial of his [success], in the [p]recinct of Apollo Pythios.⁵²

This is an elegiac distich, whose second part is identical with that of the dedication offered by Pisistratus the Younger to Apollo Pythios at the Athenian Python by the Ilissus river:⁵³

μνῆμα τόδε ἔς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστ[ρατος] υἱοῦ
ἔθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθ[ί]ο ἐν τεμένει.

Pisist[ratus, son of Hippias], dedicated this as a memorial of his magistracy in the precinct of Apollo Pyth[i]os.

This inscription dates between 520 and 511, while the dedication that was discovered at Merenda can be approximately dated to 400–350. The parallel between the two documents led the first editors of the inscription from Merenda to suppose that it had been carried there from the nearby Philaidai, which was the ancestral deme of the Peisistratides. Alternatively, they proposed that the marble slab came from the neighboring deme of Prasiai, whence the Athenian sacred delegations (Theoriai) used to sail in the direction of Delos on the occasion of the well-known celebrations in honor of Apollo on the island. Although the cult of Apollo Delios is not otherwise attested at Myrrhinous, the discovery of the dedication to this deity at the church of Panagia at Merenda – where further inscriptions of the Myrrhinousioi were found – supports the idea that the temenos mentioned in the inscription lay at Myrrhinous.

52 The authors of the *editio princeps* proposed this reading at a suggestion of Werner Peek. In an attempt to solve the absence of an object of the memory (μνημείον) – a particular event which would have led Xenophon to set up the dedication – Peek integrated the word νίκης at the beginning of line 1. But, on closer inspection, the object of memory is not missing. In fact, Xenophon dedicated to Apollo Pythios μνημείον ἑαυτοῦ, “in remembrance of himself.” Therefore, I have recently proposed to fill the initial lacuna with a direct reference to the offered object, see Bultrighini 2013. After an autopsy of the inscription at the Epigraphical Museum of Athens in July 2011, I noticed that since 1948 – when the stone was found – the inscribed surface seemingly underwent further damages, as a number of letters previously read are currently not visible at all. On the contrary, the first upsilon in Πυθίου is clearly detectable.

53 IG I³ 948. Thucydides quotes the text of this dedicatory inscription by Pisistratus (6. 54. 6–7).

This dedication to Apollo Pythios was made by a certain Xenophon, who is to be identified with the Ξενοφῶν ἱερεὺς, son of Philoxenos, who made an offering also to Zeus Phratrios at Myrrhinos:⁵⁴

Ξενοφῶν ἱερεὺς ἀνέθηκε παῖς Φιλοξένο
μνημεῖον αὐτοῦ κάμει Φρατρίω Διί

The priest Xenophon, son of Philoxenos, dedicated me too as a memorial of himself to Zeus Phratrios.⁵⁵

This is an example of the so-called “talking object” formula. The gift offered to the god tells us that it was dedicated by Xenophon as μνημεῖον αὐτοῦ, “as a memorial of himself”. As in the dedication by Xenophon to Apollo Pythios and the dedication to Hermes from Anaphlystos, the use of the term μνημεῖον is peculiar. The word is usually employed in funerary context, as it is particularly appropriate to express the idea of a “monument” (μνημεῖον) that was placed in remembrance of the deceased for posterity.⁵⁶ In these instances μνημεῖον appears in dedications and seems to serve the same function as μνήμα, which is attested, although rarely, in metrical votive dedications, always in connection with the object of memory. Usually, a particular event is remembered, but in some instances the dedicant simply wants to commemorate himself,

54 SEG 53. 210, O. Kakavogianni in Vasilopoulou, Katsarou-Tzeveleki 2009: 64–65, O. Kakavogianni – V. Argiropoulos – M. Anetakis – M. Kontopanagou – M. Sklavos, *ibid.*: 119–121, SEG 57.201, Feyel 2011: 27 ff., Bultrighini 2013. Cf. Ch. Feyel, *BE* 2010: 705–706 no. 220 (4).

55 In a preliminary edition of the result of the archaeological excavations carried out on the site of Merenda (Kakavogianni 2003: 49), the Greek excavators offered the following translation of the inscription, which was also written on the label of the piece at the Brauron Museum: “The priest Xenophon, son of Philoxenos, dedicated this monument to Zeus Phratrios, on behalf of his father and himself.” However, in the subsequent edition of the epigraphic text the same editors translated: “The priest Xenophon, son of Philoxenos, offered me to Zeus Phratrios as a memorial (votive gift).”

56 Only one more Attic votive dedication makes use of the term *mnemeion*, IG II² 4658. This inscription is metrical and dates to the fourth-third century:

Ἀμβρόσιος καὶ Διοπεΐθης δημοσύνηι με ἀνέθηκαν : Ἀρτέμιδι
μνημεῖον ἑαυτῶν ἀριτῆς {²⁶ἀρετῆς} τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον].

“Ambrosios and Diopieithes dedicated me to Artemis Demosyne as a memorial of their excellence for the posterity forever and ever.” Although we are dealing with a votive inscription, the same idea is expressed as in funerary context, i.e. that of a “monument” reminding the descendants of someone who lived in the past. In this case, however, what they wanted to remind the posterity of is clearly mentioned, that is ἑαυτῶν ἀριτῆς.

sometimes together with his family.⁵⁷ Therefore, it seems that with his dedication Xenophon – who was perhaps the priest of Zeus Phratrios – intended to memorialize himself.

The discovery of this inscription led the archeologists to identify the area where it was found as the sanctuary of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria.⁵⁸ The two inscriptions offered by Xenophon date to the fourth century and show many similarities both in the shape of their marble support as well as in the arrangement and content of their text. With regard to the support, in either case this is a flat pillar, a sort of pilaster, which is tapered above and terminates with a squared capital.⁵⁹ Size and quality of marble of the two slabs look quite similar as well.⁶⁰ As for the inscriptions, they have a comparable layout, proceeding vertically from top to bottom, as it generally happens with dedications inscribed on small pillars or along statues limbs. Their letters look pretty much the same, suggesting a date around the mid-fourth century. Both dedication formulas are metrical, arranged in two lines.⁶¹ A significant aspect is the reiteration of the term *μνημεῖον* – which is unusual in votive context – with the specification *αὐτοῦ*. It is also important to note that in the second line of the dedication to Zeus Phratrios, the offered object says: “Xenophon dedicated me too.” This detail implies that another offering was set up in the same place, and therefore that the two dedications were connected to each other. It could be assumed that they were part of one and the same votive monument offered by Xenophon and placed inside the shrine of Apollo Pythios, as it is expressly stated in the second line of the dedication to this deity.⁶²

57 Guarducci 1974: 10, 145, 223 n. 4, Lazzarini 1976: 101–102.

58 M. Sklavos in Vasilopoulou, Katsarou-Tzeveleki 2009: 117–123. See also Bultrighini 2013: 148–149, where I propose a different interpretation of the archeological context. On the worship of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, on the phratries of Attica and their relationship with the demes, see above all Hedrick 1991 and Lambert 1993.

59 The capital is only preserved in the case of the inscription recently found at Merenda. See Bultrighini 2013: 145 fig. 5.

60 The stele bearing the dedication to Zeus Phratrios measures 1.44 in height, its width is 0.226 m above and 0.274 m below. The letter height is 0.013–0.016 m. The dimensions of the marble support of the dedication to Apollo Pythios are: h. 0.57; w. above 0.235 m., below 0.255 m.; thickness above 0.20 m., below 0.215 m.; letter h. 0.013–0.015 m..

61 The one to Apollo Pythios is an elegiac distich. The dedication to Zeus Phratrios shows a metrical course but a clear structure cannot be identified. According to Feyel 2011: 30, the meter employed is the iambic trimeter.

62 See Bultrighini 2013: 146 ff. for a full discussion of this interpretation.

The deme of Myrrhinous had also a temple of Athena, as an inscribed statue base that was found in the church of Panagia at Merenda demonstrates. The base bears a dedication to Athena by Herodes Atticus:⁶³

Ἡρώδης Ἀττικοῦ
Μαραθώνιος τὸν νεῶν
ἐπεσκεύασεν καὶ τὸ
ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκεν
τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ.

5

Herodes Atticus from Marathon renovated the temple and dedicated the statue to Athena.

In the same deme, recent archaeological works brought to light a shrine that was convincingly interpreted by the excavators as a sanctuary of Aphrodite.⁶⁴

The last deme we are going to discuss is Prasiai, which was situated on the bay of Porto Rapti (Fig. 2.1). In ancient times this gulf played a prominent role as the foremost port of Attica facing the Aegean Sea. This explains the presence of a sanctuary of Apollo at Prasiai, which constituted a stage in the religious relations between Athens and Delos. The existence of this shrine is recorded by Pausanias (1. 31. 2), who states that at Prasiai there was also the tomb of Erysichton, son of Kekrops, who died while sailing back from Delos after the sacred embassy.⁶⁵ Traces of this sanctuary dedicated to Apollo Delios, possibly built in the place where Erysichton was buried, have been probably

63 IG 11² 3191. Vivliodeti 2005: 57–58, no. E14 refers that K. Pittakis (*AE* 1852–53, 904, no. 1450) maintained that the marble base was not found at the church of Panagia but was walled in the church of Agios Ioannos “in the deme of Myrrhinous.” Nevertheless, Milchhöfer 1887: 277, no. 145 says “in der Panagia Merenda.” He also reports the discovery (*ibid.*, no. 143) of a statue fragment belonging to a female deity walled in the church of Agios Giorgos (which is located between Markopoulo and Merenda); and (*ibid.* no. 144) of a Gorgoneion with a fragment of the torso of a statue of Athena, which was walled in the church of Taxiarchi at Dagla (south of Markopoulo). He assumes that these two fragments could have originally belonged to the statue of Athena dedicated by Herodes Atticus.

64 O. Kakavogianni in Vasilopoulou, Katsarou-Tzeveleki 2009: 114–117.

65 A literary source also attests the cult of Athena Pronoia at Prasiai. According to it her shrine was founded by Diomedes (Bekker, *Anecd.* 299, 6), and the same Athena Pronoia led Leto to Delos, where she gave birth to Apollo and Artemis, after loosening her belt at Cape Zoster (Hyperid. fr. 67).

located on the site of Natso or Prasa, in the southern area of Porto Raphti.⁶⁶ The site was frequented since the final part of the Mycenaean period. The most significant findings include the foundations of a late classical apsidal temple, a marble head related to a statue of Apollo, along with a fragment of its marble base bearing the artist's signature, both dating to the archaic period.⁶⁷

There is also evidence for the cult of Artemis at Prasiai, as it is attested by a dedication to the goddess inscribed on a marble relief that was found on the Koroni peninsula,⁶⁸ which was most probably part of the territory of Prasiai (Fig. 2.3):⁶⁹



FIGURE 2.3 *Dedication to Artemis from Prasiai (SEG 21, 780) from Vanderpool – McCredie – Steinberg 1962, pl. 23, fig. 137.*

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66 Kakavogianni 1985.

67 Kakavogianni 1985. *IG* 1³ 1018 ter. A land lease of the demotai of Prasiai, dating to the second half of the fourth century (Matthaiou 2000–2003) was found on the same site. In the first report on the excavations at Natso, Kakavogianni hinted at the discovery of further fragments of statues and votive dedications on the site.

68 Vanderpool – McCredie – Steinberg 1962: 54 no. 137, pl. 23, *SEG* 21. 780.

69 Another land lease of the demotai of Prasiai (350–300) was found on the Koroni peninsula: Vanderpool – McCredie – Steinberg 1962: 54, no. 138, pl. 23, Behrend 1970: no. 28, *SEG* 21. 644. Cf. Whitehead 1986: 387, no. 99, Burford 1993: *passim*, Jones 2000: 82–83.

[ὁ δεῖνα στεφανωθείς χρυσ]ῶι στεφάνωι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ [Πρασιέων ?]
[- - - ἀνέθηκε]ν τειῖ Ἀρτέμιδι.

[A certain man, crowned with a gold]en crown by the deme of the
[Prasieis?], [... dedicated] to Artemis.

Lastly, a stone – generally interpreted as an altar – which was found at Porto Raphti, attests the worship of the Herakleidai at Prasiai:⁷⁰

Ἡρακλειδῶν
ἐσχάρα.

Sacrificial hearth of the Herakleidai.

In conclusion, the evidence indicates that the East coast of Attica was characterized by the prevalence of the worship of Artemis and other Olympic and “civic” gods, while the West coast was characterized by a widespread worship of “rural” deities. This situation could be explained in the light of the presence, on the East coast, of very ancient and significant places of worship, such as the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, to which the shrine of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides was connected, and like the sanctuary of Apollo Delios, with the port of Prasiai, which played an important role since remote times. The absence of religious centers of this scale and significance on the West coast of Attica could have led to a larger diffusion of more rural and nature-related cults.

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70 Milchhöfer 1887: 292 no. 238, *IG* II² 4977. Ekroth 2002: 29–30, 35, interprets the stone as a horos, which may have delimited the sacred area of the eschara of the Herakleidai. The inscription is generically assigned to the fourth–third century. The Herakleidai are also attested at Erchia, Aixone and Kydathenaion. See Whitehead 1986: 204, who accordingly points out that the cult of the Herakleidai “in the demes seems to have been quite widespread.”

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Beyond the Three-Barred Sigma: IG I³ 11

Sarah Bolmarcich

IG I³ 11, long identified as an Athenian treaty with Sicilian Egesta, is best known for its role in the conflict over the dating of fifth-century Attic inscriptions by whether the mason used three- or four-barred sigma; three-barred sigma was long taken to be a sign of an early date, 446/5 BCE or previously,¹ while four-barred sigma indicated a later date.² Much of the chronology of the Athenian Empire and its development still rests on inscriptions dated on the basis of these sigmas.³ With the work of M. Chambers (1990), H. Mattingly (1996) was proven correct in his insistence that the presence of three-barred sigma did not necessarily indicate a date before 446/5 for an inscription. In this debate, however, the significance of IG I³ 11 as a historical document has been overlooked, and that is my concern in this essay. I argue that the decree does not in fact represent a formal treaty between Athens and Egesta, as it has so long been taken to be, but represents a preliminary stage in negotiations between Athens and Egesta, which may not have been intended to end with a full *summachia*.⁴ That recognition of this adds to and perhaps changes our understanding not only of IG I³ 11, but also of Thucydides' Sicilian narrative.

1 All dates are BCE.

2 For a summary of the history of the debate over dating three-barred sigma, with bibliography, see Papazarkadas 2009: 67–68.

3 Although Mattingly was proven correct on the date of IG I³ 11 and the three-barred sigma, it does not automatically follow that all of his redatings of inscriptions based on the three-barred sigma are correct. In many cases there are good historical reasons for retaining the traditional dates of inscriptions that Mattingly redated; furthermore, we know too little of the mason of IG I³ 11 and the stele itself to confirm that three-barred sigma was commonly used by Attic stonemasons in 418/7. What Mattingly's work achieved was to make more elastic the dating of fifth-century Attic letter-forms; it should not be seen – as some scholars appear to take it – as imposing a new orthodoxy of letter-forms upon the dating of fifth-century Attic inscriptions. Benjamin Meritt's observation on dating inscriptions by letter-forms still holds true: "skepticism should be evidenced by everyone who wishes to use the forms of letters as a criterion for date" (Meritt 1940: 97–98).

4 Matthaïou 2004 makes a similar point, but argues that the decree is a renewal of an earlier treaty, following the model of the Athenian treaties with Rhegium and Leontini. I shall return to his arguments below.

Much of the debate over the decree stems from the fact that the stone is unusually poor condition for an inscription whose identity has been so taken for granted. The letters are extremely worn, due to the fact that the stele was at some point during its existence used as a threshold-stone, and it even sports a circular indentation in its center where the doorpost was. To give you some idea of how much has been lost on the stone, here is the text of the decree with the *IG* restorations:

[χσμμαχία καὶ ὀρ]χο[ς] Ἀ[θ]ενα[ί]ον καὶ Ἑγεσταί[ον].	a 1
[ἔδοχσεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τ]οῖ [δέμοι· .. 6... ἰς] ἐπρυτάνευσεν, [...]	
[. c. 4. ἐγραμμάτευεν, . c. 4.]ο[... 5...]Ι[... 8.....]ον ἔρχε, Ἀρ[χί]α[ς]	
[εἶπεν· περὶ μὲν Ἑγεσταί]ο[ν τὸ]ν [ἡδ]ο[κον .. 5... δ]ὸν[α] αὐτο[ίς..]	5
[..... 20.....]οσα[..... 16.....]δ[.]ε[... 5...]	
[..... 21.....]σ[.]ι[..... 12.....]αι τὸς δι[... 5...]	
[..... 19.....]ερ[....]θ[....]ν[.]α [h]ιερὰ [h]όσομπ[ε]ρ ε[.]	
[..... 18.....]τὸν ἡδ[οκ]ον ὁ[μνύν]α[ι· ἡδ]ο[κ]ος δ' ἂν ὁμό[σοσ]-	
[ιν ἡάπαντες οἱ στρατ]εγοὶ ἐπιμελεθέν[τον παρ]αγγ[ε]λ[... 5...]	10
[..... 18.....]τὸν ἡορκοτὸν ἡδ[οκ]ος .. 5... Ἑγ[εστα]ιο.	
[... 11...· τὸ δὲ φσέ]φισμα τόδε καὶ τὸν [ἡδ]ο[κ]ον ἄνα[γρ]ά[φ]σα-	
[ι ἐστέλει λιθίνει ἐμ π]όλει τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς· [οἱ δὲ π]-	
[ολεται ἀπομισθοσάντ]ον· ἡο[ι] δὲ κολακρέται δό[ν]το[ν τὸ ἀργύρ]-	
[ιον· καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπ]ι χσένια τὴν πρεσβείαν τὸν Ἑ[γεσταί]ον	15
[ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἐς τὸν] νομιζόμενον χρόνον. ν Εὐφεμ[ος εἶπε· τὰ]	
[μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ β]ολῇ· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπειδὴν π[ρ]έσβες Ἑγ[-	
[εσταίον ἀφικνῶνται, ἡο κ]έρυχς προσαγ[έτο 14.....]	
[..... 23.....]τὸς π[ρ]έσβες? 15.....]	
<i>lacuna</i>	
[πρέσβες] Ἑγεσταί[ον] οἰδε τὸν ἡδ[οκ]ον ὁμνυον· 12.....]	19 b
[... 7...]ικίνο Ἀπ[..... 34.....]	20 ⁵
<i>vacat</i>	

5 I quote C.W. Fornara's 1983 translation: [The Alliance and] *Oath* [of the Athenians and] Egestaeans.][Resolved by the Boule and] *the* [People, -8-]held the prytany, [...][was Secretary, -]ο[presided, -]ον was Archon, Ar[...][made the motion, -]- - - - as many victims [..][[-18-swear] *the oath*. That it [be] swor[n] [by everyone shall be the] *generals' responsibility* [-][[-14-] with the oath-commissioners so that [..][[-11-] This decree and the [oath shall be inscribe[d on a marble stele on the] Akropolis by the Secretary of the Boule. [The P]oletai are to let out the contract.] The Kolakretai *are to provide* [the mon[ey. Invitation shall be offered for] hospitality to the embassy of the E[gestaeans || in the Prytaneion at the] accustomed time. Euphe[mos made the motion. Let | all the rest be as (resolved) by the] Boule, but in future, when [-9-] | [-19-] herald [shall] introduce [-14-] | [- - -].

Compare the *IG* text to this version of the text with no restorations at all:

[.....]χο[.] Ἀ[.]εἰνα[.....] ἰ' Ἐγεσταί[...]		a 1
[.....]δι[.....] ἐπρυτάνευε, [...]		
[.....]ο[.....] Ἰ[.....] ὃν ἔρχε, Ἀρ[.]α[.]		
[.....]ἰο[.....] ν[ὁ]ρ[.....] ὃν[.] ἰ αὐτο[.....]	5	
[.....]οσα[.....] δ[.]ε[.....]		
[.....]σ[.]ἰ[.....] αἰ τὸς δι[.....]		
[.....]ερ[.....] θ[.....] ν[.]α[ὁ] ἱερά[ὁ] ὄσομπ[ε.ρ ε[.]		
[.....] ὃν ἡό[.] οἱ ὅ[.....] α[.....] ος δ' ἂν ὁμό[.....]-		
[.....] εἰοἱ ἐπιμελεθέν[.....] αγγ[.] λ[.....]	10	
[.....] ὃν ἡοκοτὸν ἡόπ[.....] Ἐγ[.....]		
[.....] φισμα τόδε καὶ τὸν ἡόρκ[ο] ἄνα[.] ἄ[.....]-		
[.....] ὅλεις τὸν γραμματέα τές βολέξ[.....]-		
[.....] ὃν ἡο[.] δὲ κολακρέται δό[.] το[.....]-		
[.....] ἰ χσένια τὲν πρεσβείαν τὸν Ἐ[.....]	15	
[.....] νομιζόμενον χρόνον. ν Ἐϋφεμ[.....]		
[.....] ολῆι· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπειδὴ π[.....]-		
[.....] ἔρυχς προσαγ[.....]		
[.....] ς π[.....]		
<i>lacuna</i>		
[.....] Ἐγεσταί[.....]	19	b
[.....] ἰκίνο Ἀπ[.....]	20	
<i>vacat</i>		

The lower left and upper right portions of the stone preserve the most text; the center portion of the stone is gone for good. Although the editors of *IG* assigned a 48-letter stoichedon line to the inscription on the basis of the length required for a full prescript, there is actually no text visible on the stone prior to stoichos 18.

Up until this point, the key problem with the inscription in scholarship has been its date. An archon's name should occur in line 3; the last letters of his name are omicron-nu. There are exactly ten possible archons whose names meet this criterion in the fifth century prior to the second Sicilian Expedition; seven date from the 470s through the 450s, three to the 420s and 410s.⁶ Because of this neat chronological divide, the stone inevitably became a test-case for

6 Phaidon (476/5), Menon (473/2), Demotion (470/69), Apsephion or Phaeon (469/8), Conon (462/1), Habron or Bion (458/7), Ariston (454/3), Epameinon (429/8), Aristion (421/0), and Antiphon (418/7).

the standard of dating fifth-century Attic inscriptions by whether or not the mason used a three-barred sigma; there are clear examples of three-barred sigma in lines 14 and 17. Since three-barred sigma was held to be an archaic letter-form, for much of the twentieth century most epigraphists preferred to supply the name of one of the seven possible archons from the 470s through 450s to reach the date. This meant that the decree, taken to be a treaty between Athens and Egesta, indicated an early Athenian interest in the West and Sicily, an impression confirmed for most scholars by two treaties with the Sicilian and Southern Italian states of Rhegion and Leontini, *IG I³ 53* and *54*, respectively, which were made in the 440s and renewed in 433/2.⁷ Only Harold Mattingly consistently argued for down-dating the Egesta Decree to the year of Antiphon (418/7), placing it much closer in time to the ill-fated second Sicilian Expedition undertaken by Athens in 415, and in closer agreement with Thucydides' Sicilian narrative, in which the Egestans played a major role.⁸

With the work of Chambers et al. (1990), who, using laser-enhanced photography, confirmed a phi before the final letters of omicron and nu in the archon's name, Mattingly's date of the year of Antiphon was assured. Since then, however, the Egesta Decree has either been used to argue that the many other fifth-century Attic inscriptions that Mattingly also down-dated in defiance of the three-barred sigma rule must also adhere to the dates he proposed for them,⁹ or has remained at the center of a dating debate, with some epigraphists arguing that the laser-enhanced technology and the statistics used by Chambers were flawed.¹⁰ Although I am skeptical of efforts to revise the entire chronology of fifth-century Athenian imperialism based on Mattingly's work, I accept that Antiphon was archon when the Egesta Decree was passed.

What has not been considered in the midst of this controversy is the effect that the re-dating of the Egesta Decree might have on our view of Thucydides' Sicilian narrative and on the activities of the Athenian Empire immediately after the Peace of Nicias was made in 421. One of the arguments Mattingly made against the initial dating of the decree to the 450s was that it suited the historical context very well;¹¹ so, if the inscription is to be re-dated, proponents

7 For bibliography on these treaties, see M-L 63–64, and add Smart 1972, Lewis 1976, and Wick 1976.

8 See Mattingly 1961, 1963, 1966, 1970, 1971, 1974, 1976, all collected in Mattingly 1996. I refer to Mattingly 1996 for convenience's sake.

9 Cf. Mattingly 1992 and 1999, and Papazarkadas 2009.

10 Cf. Henry 1992, 1995, 1998, and 2001.

11 Mattingly 1996: 271–276.

of the date 418/7 must be willing to investigate a closer relationship between the decree and Athenian activities in Sicily in 415–413.

There are two problems with linking a treaty with Egesta closely to the launch of the Sicilian Expedition in 415. The first is a logical question; why make an alliance to defend another state, but then take three years to implement it? A treaty made specifically for a certain occasion would seem to necessitate quick action, as, for instance, the defensive alliance between Athens and Corcyra (Thuc. 1.44.1). If Egesta felt the need to make an alliance with Athens in 418/7, surely she was already at odds with Syracuse via Syracuse's ally Selinus;¹² and so why did the Athenians not act sooner to carry out the treaty provisions? Simply placing the Egesta Decree as close as possible to the date of the Sicilian Expedition does not solve the chronological problem, unless we were to assume 1) a time lag of a year or so for travel between Athens and Egesta; 2) place the decree in early 417, in the later months of Antiphon's archonship; and 3) assume it took the Athenians another year to prepare for the expedition.

Second, Thuc. 6.6.2, which describes an Egestan embassy to Athens, has the ambassadors reminding the Athenians of a previous alliance made with a Sicilian state: ὥστε τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ Λάχης καὶ τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου Λεοντίνων οἱ Ἐγεσταῖοι ξυμμαχίαν ἀναμνησκόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐδέοντο σφίσι ναὺς πέμψαντας ἐπαμύναι, “the Egestans called to mind the previous alliance in the time of Laches and the earlier war and requested the Athenians to send a fleet to defend them.” This translation is quite straightforward, but it does not include the genitive Λεοντίνων, which is the source of the problems with the passage. Does it refer to the alliance – i.e., an alliance with the Leontini, which we know from IG I³ 53 that Athens made in 433/2, and which was the cause of their first Sicilian Expedition in 427?¹³ Or does it refer to the earlier war of 427, caused by Syracusan encroachment upon Leontini? Or could it even refer to an alliance between Egesta and Leontini?¹⁴ None of these explanations is satisfactory: an alliance between Egesta and Leontini should not involve Athens at all; the first Sicilian Expedition was not a “war against the Leontini” (which is what the use of the genitive in Thuc. 6.6.2 and Thuc. 3.86 and 115 would indicate); and if the reference is to the Athenian alliance with Leontini, why should the Egestans expect help from Athens on the basis of a treaty to which they were not party? Most translators and commentators now agree that – grammatically

12 Thuc. 6.6, 8, 13, 47–48, 62; Diod. Sic. 12.82.3; all these passages purportedly describe events dating to 416/5.

13 Thuc. 3.86, 115; 4.1, 24–25, 58–65.

14 For all of these possibilities, see Dover, *HCT ad loc.* and Hornblower *ad loc.*

at least – the alliance in question was the one with the Leontini,¹⁵ which still does not answer why it is that alliance to which the Egestans appeal instead of one they had just made with Athens. The natural conclusion would be that the Egestans were not allies of Athens when the second Sicilian Expedition began. So what then does the text of IG I³ 11 represent? Matthaïou (2004) argues that IG I³ 11 is not the treaty between Athens and Egesta itself but represents a renewal of the oaths each party took when a treaty between them was initially made in the 420s; hence the reference to *horkoton* in line 10. This still does not resolve the puzzle of Thuc. 6.6.2, of course. I think it is worth exploring the notion that this decree may not reflect any formal diplomatic entanglement between Athens and Egesta at all, and the activity it records may be a precursor to an alliance, not a reflection of one already in existence. Indeed, nowhere in Books 6–7 does Thucydides state explicitly that there was a formal alliance between Athens and Egesta, although the reader is led to assume such a relationship.¹⁶ Nor does the (unrestored) text of this decree confirm such a relationship: neither *summachia* nor *summachoi* occur, and only one reference to oaths is completely unrestored, while all other references to oaths, including the key phrase *horkon omnunai* (9) have been largely or completely restored. Only *horkoton* (10) and *presbeian* (15) clearly suggest a diplomatic context for the document, and both terms need not necessarily refer to the existence or creation of an alliance: an embassy could be sent on other business (e.g., IG II² 1, a Samian embassy that receives honors), and oaths were often standard in non-diplomatic contexts as well as diplomatic ones in ancient Greece.

A number of incongruities suggest that this document is not a treaty in any form. I list them briefly here before expounding further:

- The use of *psêphisma* (line 11) to describe a treaty between Athens and an independent state is unusual;¹⁷

15 See Hornblower *ad loc.*

16 Later Nicias may refer to the Egestans as *summachoi* (Thuc. 6.13, although he may also be speaking generally) they provide cavalry at the Athenians' request (Thuc. 6.62, 88, 98), and they are included in the catalogue of Athenian allies before the final battle at Syracuse (Thuc. 7.57).

The term *summachoi* did not necessarily denote the existence of a formal *summachia*; see Bolmarcich 2003, Chapter 5.

17 There are no fifth-century examples. Decrees dealing with Delian League subjects do use the term; see IG I³ 10.5–6, the Phaselis Decree; IG I³ 62.7, a decree for Aphytis; IG I³ 1453, the Coinage Decree.

- The invitation to dinner (lines 14–15) is also rare in fifth-century treaties, especially for ambassadors from independent states;¹⁸
- The provision “let the generals take care of it” (line 9) is unusual in fifth-century treaties;¹⁹
- The publication-clause (lines 11–12) is not standard in fifth-century treaties with independent states;²⁰
- The presence of a heading (line 1) is rare in bilateral fifth-century treaties to the best of our knowledge and this heading especially – which is almost totally restored – with its combination of *summachia* and *horkos*, is entirely unparalleled. Its inclusion of the word *horkos* is also unexpected since the document does not detail the oaths the Athenians and the Egestans took, nor does it have space to do so (see below);
- The mention of *hiera* (line 7), presumably sacrifices here²¹ – although it could also refer to a temple or sacred monies, for instance – is again unusual in treaty-texts;
- The text of the decree appears tentative: not only are no terms or oaths for an alliance included, but (in an almost entirely restored context) *hosomper* (8) and *epeidan* (17) suggest an open-endedness to whatever arrangements are being made in the decree;
- The mention in lines 12–13 of the Athenian financial officials the *kolakretai* (and most likely the *poletai*, though these have been restored), is without parallel in any other fifth-century Athenian treaty, since they tend to be mentioned in administrative or honorary decrees;²² and
- While *horkoton* in line 10 is the strongest evidence that this is a diplomatic document, most fifth-century treaties that use the term then go on to detail

18 Elsewhere we find such an invitation for embassies from Aphytis (*IG* I³ 63), Mytilene (*IG* I³ 66), and Neapolis (*IG* I³ 101, 107). All of these were Athenian subjects at the time.

19 The only other clear and unrestored example is *IG* I³ 40, the Chalcis Decree, at lines 19–20 and 44. The generals are assigned the responsibility of administering the oath to the Chalcidians, all of whom were to swear it. Chalcis of course was subordinate to Athens, as Egesta was not; furthermore, there are problems with envisioning an oath-text in this document (see below). The generals may well have had some task to perform in relation to the Egestans, but it need not have had to do with taking or witnessing oaths.

20 It does occur in decrees for the subject states Colophon, Mytilene, Halieis, and the Thracian Bottiaeans (*IG* I³ 37, 66, 75, and 76, respectively).

21 As in the Chalcis Decree (*IG* I³ 40.64).

22 For instance, the reassessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.25–26) and the regulations for Perdiccas of Macedon (*IG* I³ 89.47).

the oaths taken. Here there is no room to quote the oaths each side took, either from lines 5–8 or after lines 18 or 21.²³

Given all these incongruities with the normal formulae of fifth-century treaties, I submit that this is not the text of the treaty itself – if a treaty between Athens and Egesta ever existed, which cannot be assumed. I believe that Matthaiou is correct to argue that this document may represent provisions made for the taking of oaths; however, I would suggest that this decree does not preserve provisions for the *renewal* of a treaty, since there is no indication at all that Egesta and Athens had a relationship prior to this document, but for taking the oaths at the *outset* of a treaty.

The tone of the document is unusual, and not at all what we would expect of an alliance made between equals; some of the formulae, as noted above, are found in Athenian decrees for their subordinate Delian League allies, suggesting that this is not a treaty but an internal Athenian decree providing for negotiations and possibly the finalization of a treaty between Athens and Egesta, or that it represents some kind of “contract” or financial arrangement – not an alliance – between Athens and Egesta, perhaps for the monies promised to Athens by Egesta for their expedition against Syracuse, which might explain the involvement of the generals (see below). This approach explains a great many of the textual incongruities noted above.

The closest parallels for some of the language noted here are not treaties between Athens and independent states such as Rhegion and Leontini, but regulatory decrees passed by Athens upon her (usually recalcitrant) allies.²⁴ These decrees are always referred to as *psêphismata*, a term never applied to treaties between Athens and independent states in the fifth century. Often in these decrees the generals are assigned responsibilities, either for seeing to it that the allies swear the required oaths, or that money is properly collected from them. These decrees invariably have publication-clauses. That the Athenians would use such language to apply to a state that was independent of their rule suggests not only that this is not a treaty, but that perhaps their attitude towards Egesta has been misunderstood. It would make some

23 Chambers 1990: 46 restores an Athenian oath to the Egestans in lines 5–8, but his restorations are unlikely for several reasons: 1) the oath is much too short compared to other preserved treaty oaths; 2) the lack of an Egestan oath to Athens is a serious and unparalleled omission, and there is no room in his restorations for an Egestan oath; and 3) the restored oath that he proposes uses a fourth-century formulation (“if ever they have need . . .”) and restores words not found in treaty oaths elsewhere.

24 See pp. 59–60 above.

sense for the Athenians to begin their relationship with Egesta by establishing themselves as the dominant party; if the conquest of Sicily was their goal, why should Egesta be excepted from that? Even the relationship the Egestans propose to the Athenians in Thucydides' narrative, in which they offer funds for the Athenian campaign in Sicily (much as Delian League allies offered tribute in exchange for military cooperation, Thuc. 1.99), is a subordinate one.

The other type of document with which the language of this decree overlaps significantly is the honorary inscription, particularly in the invitation to dinner.²⁵ It is typical to invite recipients of Athenian honors and privileges to hospitality or dinner, depending upon their citizen status, at the Prytaneion.²⁶ Rarely do we see ambassadors from Delian League member states – and never independent states except for this instance – invited to hospitality as well.²⁷ Honorary decrees are also rife with publication clauses,²⁸ and can include provisions for the *poletai* and *kolakretai* to provide funds for publication.²⁹ These features are not common in Athenian treaties.

Given the features shared with other types of documents common at Athens, I propose that this is a decree laying the foundations for some sort of relationship between Athens and Egesta, perhaps – but not necessarily – an alliance, and awarding the honors of hospitality (15–16) to the ambassadors from Egesta during their time at Athens and right of access to the *boulê* (17–18) in the future. These would not be the first honors granted by Athens to representatives from Sicily; they had previously granted the honor of public burial in the Kerameikos to Silenus, an ambassador from Rhegion (*IG* I³ 1178).

If the decree actually preserves negotiations in process between Athens and Egesta, the use of *strategoï epimelethenton* especially suggests this; when the generals alone are the subject of the imperative, the activity that they are to guarantee would logically take place overseas, away from Athens, as *IG* I³ 40.19–20 and 44 suggests. This would be the case if the Athenians might have some reservations about a formal alliance – as they did, according to Thucydides, who has them confirm that the Egestans have sufficient money to supply the Athenian fleet before they agree to sail to Sicily on their behalf (6.6–8). It is odd in Thucydides' narrative that it is the Egestans who call the Athenians in, and who are expected to fund their expedition, yet the plight of the Leontini against Syracusan hostility is the ostensible cause of Athenian involvement. And it is

25 For examples, see Henry 1983, Chapter 9.

26 See Henry 1983: 271–275 for the distinction between *xenia* and *deipnon*.

27 There is a single unrestored instance: *IG* I³ 101.46, an invitation to the Neapolitans.

28 Cf. Henry 1983: 116–130.

29 See in the fifth century *IG* I³ 23, 149, 159.

against Syracuse, not Egesta's enemy Selinus, that the Athenians direct their initial activities on the island. All of this suggests that the Egestans at least initially have no formal alliance upon which to call the Athenians to their aid, and that in effect they are expected to pay for the privilege of Athenian help, which is not owed to them under the terms of any treaty. Too, the decree also appears to place them in a subordinate position to Athens, as though they were a Delian League member, perhaps because of their "barbarian" Elymian ethnicity. And although there is a story in Thucydides that the Egestans deceived the Athenians about the extent of their wealth, they do deliver ninety talents to the Athenians, sixty of them before the expedition sailed for Sicily (6.8, 46). Perhaps once those initial sixty talents were delivered and the fleet arrived in Sicily, the formal alliance was begun when Nicias visited Egesta early in the expedition.

The lack of certainty in some of the clauses of the decree – *hosomper* and (in the rider) *to loipon epeidan* suggest perhaps a tentativeness to the whole arrangement; with respect to the rider in particular, it was not usual to grant the right of *prostagagia* formally in treaties.

One final epigraphical point remains. The stele is opisthographic and has on its back a decree dealing with the Halicyaeans, fellow Elymi with the Egestans. This document is in even worse condition than the Egesta Decree:

[ἔδοχσε]ν τῇ βολῇ [καὶ τοῖ δέμοι· . . . c.9 . . . ἐπρυτάνευε, . . . c.9 . . .]
 [. . . ἔγραμ]μάτευε, Ἀρ[. . . c.7 . . . ἐπεστάτε, . . . c.11 . . . εἶπε· Ἀθηναίοις]
 [καὶ ἡαλι]κυαίοις Ἐλ[ύμοις φιλίαν καὶ χσυμμαχίαν εἶναι κατὰ τὰ χσυ]-
 [γκείμεν]α τὰ πρὸς Ἀθ[εναίους ἡ δ' Ἐγεσταίοις ἐστίν· ταῦτα δὲ τὸν γραμμ]- 5
 [ατέα τῆς β]ολῆς ἀναγ[ράφσαι ἐμ πόλει ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στέλει ἐν ἡῇ ἀναγ]-
 [ἔγραπται κα]ὶ περὶ Ἐ[γεσταίων τὰ ἐφσεφισμένα τοῖ δέμοι *vacat*?]
vacat?³⁰

The decree is often taken as an alliance made with Halicyae along the same lines as the alliance with Egesta. Yet every instance of diplomatic language has again been restored. Perhaps the Halicyaeans were accorded the same honors

30 [Resolve]d by the Council [and the People...held the prytany...was secre]tary, Ar[...presided...made the motion: To the Athenians and the Hali]cyaean El[y]mi there is to be friendship and alliance according to the articles of agreemen[t] [such as are] to the Ath[enians with the Egestans. These the secretary of the C]ouncil to ins[cribe on the Acropolis on the very same stele on which has been inscribed als]o [the matters decreed by the People] concerning the E[gestans].

as the Egestans were. In any case, this document does not confirm that IG I³ 11 is a formal alliance between Athens and Egesta.

Regardless of the identity of the decree, its re-dating to 418/7 has an effect on Thucydides' Sicilian narrative, for it suggests that at least two to three years prior to the advent of the second Sicilian Expedition, the Athenians were contemplating fresh activity there. Given their interference in the Leontinian *stasis* in 421 (Thuc. 5.4–5), this does not come as much of a surprise, but it does raise the question of why Thucydides obscures the Athenians' earlier interest in a second expedition to Sicily in favor of a compressed narrative from 416/5. In part, this may be for reasons of effect: Thucydides wanted to link the Sicilian Expedition very closely to the extermination of the Melians and the Melian Dialogue (5.84–116), or he wanted to avoid any suggestion, as he does in Book 5, that the Athenians were in violation of the Peace of Nicias before the Spartans were.³¹

There may have been structural reasons as well for Thucydides' omission of the earlier date for this decree. H. Rawlings has demonstrated parallels between various books of Thucydides' *History*, including Books 1 and 6, which he sees as "introductory" books.³² Under that scheme, Egesta's request for aid in Sicily is parallel to Corcyra's request for an alliance with Athens in Book 1.³³ Thucydides' desire to maintain the parallel narratives that he had carefully established throughout his work may well have led him to compress the narrative of the Sicilian Expedition at the beginning of Books 6–7, and make the Egestan request – like the Corcyraean one – be acted upon swiftly by the Athenians. In support of this is the point that elsewhere in his Sicilian narrative Thucydides delays the revelation of a piece of information important to the Athenians, namely the exposure of the Egestans' lie that they had sufficient funds for the Athenian expedition to Sicily (Thuc. 6.46.1). Scholars have seen this as a device to build tension within the Sicilian narrative: Thucydides and the reader know that the Egestans are lying, but the Athenians, caught up in a passion of hope, do not.³⁴ Perhaps Thucydides' narrative reflects the actual historical moment at which the deception was discovered, in which case what appears to be a narratological device is actually caused by his earlier compression of the narrative.

The Egesta Decree poses far more problems than the issue of three-barred sigma and the dating of fifth-century Attic inscriptions. The actual identity of

31 Cf. Thuc. 5.56.3.

32 Rawlings 1981, Chapter 2, especially 63–64.

33 Rawlings 1981: 63.

34 Erbse 1989: 43–45; Kallet 2001: 69–75.

what text it preserves is unclear; it cannot necessarily be taken to be an alliance between Athens and Egesta, as I hope to have demonstrated here. And the date of the decree – whatever type of document it represents – still poses problems for Thucydides' narrative of the Sicilian Expedition. What the decree does demonstrate, however, is a surprising degree of planning for the Sicilian Expedition on the part of the Athenians, who at least several years before they sailed to Sicily were deeply interested in trying to acquire the island and launching a second expedition there.

Abbreviations

HCT = Gomme, A.W.; Andrewes, A.; and K.J. Dover. 1935–1981. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*. 5 volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

M-L = Meiggs, R., and D. Lewis. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

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Xenocratia and the *Hieron* of Cephisus¹

Arden Williams

At the end of the fifth century, a woman named Xenocratia dedicated a fine and well-known marble relief to a group of deities at a sanctuary on the outskirts of Athens.² The stand which supported the relief of Xenocratia also recorded her claim to have founded the *hieron*, by which she probably meant the sanctuary itself rather than a shrine building within the sanctuary.³ The dating of this dedication, based on art historical and epigraphical principles, is generally to c. 410–400 BCE.⁴ The date challenges the idea that women in Athens did not have the legal capacity to own or dispose of landed property for such a foundation at this time. This difficulty has prompted much speculation over the circumstances of Xenocratia's declaration. If Xenocratia could not actually found a sanctuary by herself, perhaps she did so together with her husband.⁵ Or she set up a dedication in a pre-existing sanctuary and her words must be interpreted in another way.⁶ Although it is the case that women were excluded from many aspects of the public sphere of the *polis*, within the private sphere of the *oikos* women could exercise some authority, and might enact transactions and make use of their own resources with and for the benefit of other members of the *oikos* and the extended family.⁷ Because these sorts of transactions are by

1 I would like to take the opportunity to thank the directors and staff at the National Archaeological Museum of Greece and the Epigraphical Museum in Athens for permission to study these reliefs and inscriptions in the summer of 2005. This research was made possible by an Arts Research Council Grant from Queen's University in Kingston, Canada. All translations are my own.

2 Athens, NM 2576. The literature on this intriguing relief is substantial. For a summary of the scholarship, see, most recently, Kron 1996: 166–7 n. 124; Purvis 2003: 15 n. 1. Extensive bibliography can also be found in Mitropoulou 1977: 43–5, no. 65.

3 *IG* 1³ 987.

4 For a summary of the scholarship on the dating of both the relief and the inscription, see the commentary on *IG* 1³ 987.

5 Most recently, Purvis 2003: 25 and 31.

6 Guarducci 1952: 127–8.

7 On the nature of the *oikos*, see Cox 1998: 132–5. On the fluid nature of property ownership within the *oikos* and the use by women of their own personal property, see Foxhall 1989; Harris 1992; Hunter 1994: 19–28; Johnstone 2003.

their very nature private arrangements, only rare glimpses of them emerge in the historical record. But public declarations of piety by women, in the form of dedications to the gods, were not only acceptable but expected.⁸ It is particularly here in the religious life of the *oikos* that the dealings of its women might become public. Whether or not Xenocratia could have legally alienated land in her possession in order to found her sanctuary is perhaps the wrong question to ask. An examination of the text of her dedication, the imagery of her relief, and the nature of this type of foundation may help to explain how women in Athens were, in fact, able to found sanctuaries, and frequently enough for a commentator like Plato to consider it a nuisance.⁹

The dedication made by Xenocratia was not an isolated monument, but part of a small group, set up perhaps at different times, and can best be understood in the context of this sanctuary and the dedications and imagery found within it. The sanctuary was situated on the banks of the Cephissus River, in an area identified as the district of Echelidai, near the deme of Xypete.¹⁰ The chief deity of the sanctuary was the personified Cephissus, but he shared his altar with a group of gods, nymphs, and local heroes, unnamed in Xenocratia's dedication but depicted, at least in part, on her relief. The aptly named Cephisodotus set up another fine marble relief, carved on both sides and supported by a tall limestone pedestal similar to that of Xenocratia.¹¹ The dedication of Cephisodotus names no gods (IG I³ 986 A):

Κηφισόδοτος Δεμογένος
Βουτάδες ἰδρύσαστο
καὶ τὸν βωμόν.

Cephisodotus son of Demogenes
of (the deme of) Boutadae founded
also the altar.

The relief supported by Cephisodotus' inscribed pedestal is double-sided, but the 'front face' of the relief is easily established by the way in which the panel joins the base.¹² On it, Artemis stands to the left of a group of male and female deities. One of the male figures bears the characteristic horns of a river god on

8 Van Bremen 1983; Ridgway 1987: 409; Kron 1996: 181–2.

9 Pl., *Leg.* 10.909e–910a.

10 Travlos 1988: 288–90 with fig. 364, Conwell 1993: 58–9 with fig. 4. Echelidae was situated southwest of the deme of Xypete. It was not itself a deme and it is uncertain how populous an area it was.

11 Athens, NM 1783 and IG I³ 986.

12 Walter 1937: 98 with n. 1.

his head; he is no doubt Cephisus.¹³ The one-line inscription on the pediment of the relief is incomplete, since the stone has worn smooth on the right-hand side, but indicates that the pinax was dedicated to Hermes and the Nymphs so that they might assist in the nurturing of a child or children.¹⁴ On the reverse side, Hermes appears with Echelos, the eponymous hero of the district of Echelidai, who rides off in his chariot grasping the otherwise unknown heroine, Iasile. Lest there be any doubt, these figures are identified by name on the pediment.¹⁵ Frel has argued that the Artemis relief was sculpted by the same hand as the Xenocratia relief.¹⁶ The Echelos relief, however, was the work of another, contemporary artist, probably from the same workshop.¹⁷ Why Cephisodotus chose a double-sided relief, or chose to have another side carved, is not clear, particularly as the reverse side, the more dynamic of the two, may have been hidden from view.¹⁸ It does suggest that the Artemis relief, inscribed with its plea for the nurturing of children, was most important to Cephisodotus. Sacrifices to Hermes and the Nymphs were probably made on the altar which he also established and which stood in front of the dedication.¹⁹

In addition, a roughly cut limestone *stele* was set up at a later date near the dedications of Xenocratia and Cephisodotus, inscribed with a list of names of deities in the dative.²⁰ This may be a simple sacred law, giving the order in

- 13 On the identification of the figures, see, for example, Kavvadias 1893: 129–46, Crosby 1905; Walter 1937: 110–2.
- 14 IG I³ 986 Ba. On this inscription, see Parker 2005: 430 n. 49. The reading of Walter 1937: 107–9 most accurately reflects what can be read on the stone, although his emendation is not secure: Ἑρμῆι καὶ Νύμφαις ἵνα ἀέξοι[εν φίλ]ον υἱόν --]. Walter noted the Homeric form of the verb αἰξω and its sense of nurturing children.
- 15 IG I³ 986 Bb: Ἑρμῆς. Ἐχελός. Ἰασίλῃ. The reading of Ἰασίλῃ as Βασίλῃ, suggested by Kavvadias 1893: 109, cannot be supported epigraphically. See on this point Meritt 1942: 284.
- 16 Frel 1966: 93–4. Frel identifies an individual artist whom he calls the Xenocratia sculptor. To this sculptor he ascribes 14 other relief sculptures dating to the first decade of the fourth century.
- 17 Frel and Kingsley 1970: 208–10 no. 37 with n. 14. The Echelos relief is numbered among the six reliefs ascribed to the Sculptor of Dion, whose body of work dates from 410–395 BCE.
- 18 Svoronos 1908: 495 and Guarducci 1952: 126–7. The wear on the back of the pedestal suggests that it leaned against a wall, perhaps the retaining wall on the bank of the Cephisus River. If so, the Echelos relief was not visible to anyone standing in the shrine.
- 19 Guarducci 1952: 121. For the argument that the altar set up by Cephisodotus was the main altar of the *hieron*, see Purvis 2003: 25 with n. 78.
- 20 IG II² 4547: Ἑστίαι, Κηφισίῳ, Ἀπόλλωνι | Πυθίῳ, Λητοί, | Ἀρτέμιδι Λοχίαι, Ἰλειθύαι, Ἀχελώϊ, Καλλιρόῃ, Γεραισταίς Νύμφαις γενεῶσιν, Ῥαψοί. The reading in IG II² of Ἀχελώϊ instead of Ἀχελώϊ is an error; the *iota* on the stone is clearly legible.

which sacrifices must be made, first to Hestia, who traditionally took precedence, then to Cephisus.²¹ The other names listed include those who, like the Apolline triad and the chthonic Achelous, were particularly concerned with the bearing, raising, and protection of children.

The extent of the sanctuary itself cannot be established, since only a small area was explored during the brief salvage excavations. Cephisodotus's relief was first discovered in 1893 close to the northern branch of the Long Walls in modern Neo Faliro.²² In 1909, during the laying of new water pipes, the inscribed base of the amphiglyph relief, the complete dedication of Xenocratia, and the *stèle* were found, presumably *in situ*, close to the southern branch of the Long Walls, but only about 150m from the site of the earlier find.²³ Staïs excavated in a circle 3–4 metres around where the dedications were found, but searched in vain for evidence of any structures on the sites. He concluded that the dedications had been originally set up in a sacred grove situated at the second site.²⁴ This is entirely possible, since a sacred grove or indeed a sanctuary does not require a shrine building. If, however, the *hieron* was more extensive than the area excavated, it is possible that there once was a shrine building or other structures.²⁵ The sanctuary was perhaps bordered by the main road from Piraeus to the Asty.²⁶

The identity of the deities and their epithets has been the subject of much discussion. For a summary of previous scholarship as well as new interpretations, particularly for the last named Rhapsodotus, see Linfert 1967, especially 154–5, and Guarducci 1974: 59–61. The inscription itself is usually dated somewhat later than the dedications of Xenocratia and Cephisodotus, since the lettering is Ionic, rather than the mixture of Attic and Ionic found in those inscriptions.

- 21 Walter 1937: 99. Earlier scholars believed that this was the altar which Cephisodotus set up, but it is now generally accepted that Walter's interpretation is correct.
- 22 Kavvadias 1893: 104–12, 129–46.
- 23 Staïs 1909: 239–64 with pl. 8; 1910: 173–6. For the location of the findspots, see also Travlos 1988: 291 fig. 364 and Conwell 1993: 57 fig. 4.
- 24 Staïs discovered the scattered remains of a wall constructed of orthogonal poros blocks in both sites, but he was not certain if this wall ran continuously from one site to the other, especially since the main road from Piraeus to Athens ran between the two. The old riverbed of the Cephisus ran through the second site, and the wall there may have been a retaining wall; Staïs thought that the dedications had fallen from their original position above the retaining wall on the bank into the river bed.
- 25 The extent of the area of excavation is not great, given that it included the riverbed which the sanctuary once overlooked.
- 26 Walter 1937: 99.

Xenocratia's dedication is in verse form, with an exhortation in prose at the end which may serve as another sacred law for the sanctuary (*IG* 1³ 987):²⁷

	Ξενοκράτεια Κηφισὸ ἱερ- ὸν ἰδρύσατο καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ^{νν} ξυμβώμοις τε θεοῖς διδασκαλ- ίας τόδε δῶρον Ξενιάδο θυγάτ- 5 ηρ καὶ μήτηρ ἐκ Χολλειδῶν. ^{ννν} θύεν τῶι βουλομένωι ἐπὶ τελεστών ἀγαθῶν. <i>vacat</i>	Xenocratia founded the sanctuary of Cephisus and dedicated this gift of instruction to (him) and the gods who share his altar, daughter and mother of Xeniades of Chollidae. (It is permitted) to anyone who wishes to sacrifice for good outcomes.
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Xenocratia's name is placed first, the emphasis of which is not unusual in itself, but her name is not incorporated into the metre of her verse.²⁸ Further identification is delayed until the final of the three lines of verse: she is daughter of Xeniades of Chollidae and mother of a son of the same name. Her nomenclature frames the dedication and her reasons for it. The debate over whether she did indeed found a sanctuary centres on her use of two verbs, ἰδρύσατο and ἀνέθηκεν. The first, ἰδρύσατο, is preceded by its object ἱερὸν in the accusative and the name of the god in the genitive in the usual way.²⁹ The second, ἀνέθηκεν, also takes a direct object, in this case τόδε δῶρον, in the accusative, but its indirect object, the altar-sharing gods, in the dative. It has been suggested, however, that the use of the verbs here is formulaic, chosen to fit the metre of her admittedly clumsy verses. Because ἱερὸν lacks the article, it is not a noun but an adjective and must modify δῶρον; Xenocratia both set up and dedicated her relief as a sacred gift.³⁰ Cephisodotus too uses the term ἰδρύσατο

27 The text follows that of *IG* 1³ but notes the vacant spaces left by the stone-cutter, as does that of Hansen 1985: 167 no. 744.

Some scholars have taken the final words of the inscription as ἐπιτελεστών ἀγαθῶν, a genitive absolute. For this and other possible readings, see Walter 1937: 101; Guarducci 1974: 59; Purvis 2003: 16–8.

28 On the verse dedication and its metric difficulties, see Homolle 1920: 6 n. 2; Walter 1937: 99–101; Guarducci 1952: 58 with n. 8; Linfert 1967: 150 n. 2; Hansen 1985: 31 no. 2276, 1989: 167 no. 744. Hansen has argued that the final two lines are also metrical.

29 See, for example, Hansen 1989: 167; Kron 1996: 167 with n. 125; Dillon 2002: 24–5; Purvis 2003: 16 with n. 5.

30 See, for example, Guarducci 1974: 58–9; Lazzarini 1976: 103–4. See also Parker 2005: 430 n. 49. Guarducci takes ἰδρύσατο καὶ ἀνέθηκεν to refer to the erection and dedication of the relief as if they were separate acts. She argues that either the cutter has erred and omitted the final iota of the name of Cephisus, which should be in the dative case along with

for his foundation of an altar. This verb is used with the foundation of an altar, probably because such a foundation also includes the rites proper to the altar, unlike the dedication of a votive relief, an offering of thanksgiving.³¹ In dedicatory inscriptions generally, the verb ἰδρύω and the compound form καθιδρύω are used for the foundation of a *hieron*, a *temenos*, or an altar.³² The name of the god is rendered in the genitive, just as in our inscription. The verb ἀνέθηκεν is more commonly used for items such as *phialai*, statues, and *stelai*, although it is sometimes used for altars, with the name of the god in the dative case. Since there are relatively few examples of the use of the verb ἰδρύω in extant Attic inscriptions, it is not possible to establish whether or not its object, sanctuary or altar, usually took an article.³³ In the prose and poetry of the fifth and fourth centuries, however, the examples are numerous and it is possible to establish a pattern. The substantive nouns such as ἱερὸν, τέμενος, or βῶμος were used as objects of ἰδρύω without the article far more often than with it.³⁴ It is impossible to say whether Xenocratia herself composed the verses of her dedication, but it is unlikely that the poet omitted the article because of the constraints of the metre when to do so was common practice.³⁵

ξυμβῶμοις θεοῖς or the name is in the genitive case following ἰδρύσατο and is to be understood in the dative following ἀνέθηκεν along with ξυμβῶμοις θεοῖς.

31 Lazzarini 1976: 105.

32 Lazzarini 1976: 73, 105, and 147. Lazzarini cites the dedication of Cephisodotus (her no. 763) but omits that of Xenocratia. ἰδρύω may also be used with ἄλγαμα.

33 For examples in Attic inscriptions without the article, see: *IG* II² 337.37–8: ἰδρύσονται ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης. With the article, see again *IG* II² 337.40–5: χ[ω]ρίου ἐν ᾧ ἰδρύσονται τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ τῆς Ἰσιδος ἱερὸν ἱδρυνται; and *IG* II² 4961.1–3: [Τ]ηλέμαχος ἰδ[ρύσατο τὸ ἱερ]ὸν καὶ τὸν βω[μὸν τῷ Ἀσκλη]ηπιῷ.

34 See, for example, Hdt. 2.178.5 (ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τέμενεα); 2.178.14 (ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός); 3.142.5 (βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο καὶ τέμενος); Theopomp., *FGrH* 115 F253.16 (ἱερὸν καὶ τέμενος ἰδρύσασθαι); Thuc. 6.3.1 (καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀρχηγέτου βωμὸν ὅστις νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἰδρύσαντο); Arist., *Fr.* 536.4 (Διὸς Ἑλλανίου καὶ Ἀθανᾶς Ἑλλανίας ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενον); Alexis, *Fr.* 267.5 (Kock) (ἰδρύσασθ' ἱερὸν μητρός); Ephorus, *FGrH* 70 F118.20 (Λυκούργω ἱερὸν ἰδρύσθαι); Hellanicus, *FGrH* 4 F6b.3 (Λυκούργω ἱερὸν ἰδρύσθαι), F109.5 (Ἀλεξικάκου Ἡρακλέος βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο), F163.2 (ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι Κολαινίδος Ἀρτέμιδος); Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F5b.5–6 (ἰδρύσασθαι βωμὸν Ὀρθοῦ Διονύσου). The article was sometimes used. See, for example, Hdt. *Fr.* 29.13 (τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου). The article appears more regularly in texts of the Hellenistic and later periods, although its usage may vary even in the works of the same author. See, for example, Plut., *Lyc.* 11.4.5 (Λυκούργος ἰδρύσατο τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν) and 11.4.15 (τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ θεῇ τῆς ἀκέσεως χαριστήριον ἰδρύσασθαι).

35 Our poet was not, it seems, unduly hampered by the demands of metre elsewhere. The second line of the verse falls short of a hexameter by one syllable, prompting some editors to amend θεοῖς to θεοῖσι. See Homolle 1920: 6 with n. 2.

What perhaps speaks in favour of Xenocratia as founder is the close connection between the wording of her dedication and the scene depicted on her relief.³⁶ Three figures form a group, slightly left of centre, that is the focal point of the composition.³⁷ Xenocratia stands on the left and a tall male figure on the right. Between them is a small, naked boy, the young Xenιάdes. The adult male must be Cephisus, for whom the foundation and the dedication were made and the scene one of *parastasis*, the presentation of a child to a god.³⁸ Scenes of *parastasis* survive on eighteen votive reliefs from Athens and elsewhere.³⁹ The image of the father presenting his child or children, both boys and girls, to the gods is most common, perhaps understandably, but the number of mothers presenting their children is not insignificant.⁴⁰ A woman appears with a young girl, presumably her daughter, on three reliefs; another woman, like Xenocratia, may be shown with her son.⁴¹ The young Xenιάdes reaches up to the god with a gesture typical of this type of scene. The attitude of Cephisus also imparts a certain intimacy to the scene, distinct from the aloofness of the altar-sharing gods in the background. Xenocratia and Cephisus, engaged in some form of communication, frame the small figure of the object of their care and concern, Xenιάdes.⁴² The imagery of Xenocratia's relief nicely illustrates

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- 36 Hausmann 1960: 65. Hausmann notes that the close connection between the sentiments expressed by Xenocratia in her dedication and the imagery on relief panel is unusual.
- 37 Of the background figures, only Apollo, seated on his tripod, and the human-headed bull, Achelous, can be positively identified. Since the discovery of the relief, there has been a lively debate among scholars over the identification of the other gods. For a good summary of the previous identifications, as well as his own interpretation, see Linfert 1967. For a response to Linfert and others, see Guarducci 1974: 61–6; Purvis 2003: 21–31.
- 38 At first glance, Cephisus appears shorter than the other gods, but his torso is hunched and his supporting knee bent as he leans towards Xenocratia. As Purvis 2003: 21 rightly notes, he is only slightly shorter and his head is the same size as those of the deities behind him. His height alone makes it unlikely that he represents a human, such as the priest of the sanctuary. He is a young unbearded man and lacks the horns characteristic of a river-god, in contrast to the Cephisus figure on the front of Cephisodotus' amphiglyph relief. For an attempt to identify him as Dionysus, see Purvis 2003: 24–31. Although the link between the problematic interpretation of *διδασκαλία* and the god of performance is appealing, Dionysus is not among the deities included in the other texts or images of the sanctuary.
- 39 See Edelmann 1999: 104–13 with Catalogue E. Edelmann notes that the four reliefs from outside Attica are clearly based on Athenian models.
- 40 Male dedicants do generally outnumber females. For a summary of the evidence from Attic inventories, see Kron 1996: 165.
- 41 Edelmann 1999: 111: mother and daughter, E4, E8, and E15; mother and son, E6 (Xenocratia) and possibly E2.
- 42 Rühfel 1984: 213 notes the centrality of the child entrusted to the god in this type of image.

her purpose, in contrast to the more generic imagery of the amphiglyph relief of Cephisodotus. Although the visible face of the relief bears a dedication to Hermes and the Nymphs, Hermes himself only appears on the reverse.

To return to the text of Xenocratia's dedication, the regulation attached to the end appears to have been an addition, perhaps made somewhat later by someone other than Xenocratia herself.⁴³ It is difficult to judge whether the same cutter worked on both parts of the inscription, since the poor quality of the limestone adversely affected the quality of the lettering. The inscription is non-stoichedon and the stone-cutter(s) apparently did not make use of guidelines. The letters of the regulation are, in fact, slightly larger than those in the preceding lines; the spacing between them differs as well, suggesting a separate occasion on which the letters were cut.⁴⁴ The four vacant spaces with which the fifth line ends also suggest a break between the dedication and the regulation. Either Xenocratia or her family or perhaps the priest of Cephisus decided at some point to allow anyone, slave or free, male or female, to make offerings in the sanctuary. There would have been sufficient space on the dressed surfaces of both pedestals for the inscription of the regulation, but it was inscribed on the base set up by Xenocratia, precisely because she was the founder of the cult.

If we accept that Xenocratia means what she says, then we have to accept that she was able to dedicate a plot of land of indeterminate size to Cephisus and the altar-sharing gods, and set up an expensive relief to commemorate her foundation. Women in Athens were under the authority of a male *kyrios* all their lives and in law the *kyrios* represented the interests of the members of the *oikos*. What actually took place within the *oikos*, however, might not reflect a reality revealed only through extant Athenian law.⁴⁵ Certainly, women, as members of the *oikos*, had property which they considered their own and which could not be taken from them without their consent, despite the legal authority granted the *kyrios*.⁴⁶ Discussions on the power that women had to use or

43 Homolle 1920: 63 n. 3.

44 Both the verse and the regulation show a mixture of Attic and Ionic elements typical of this period, but the incisions of the cutter of the regulation are less deep. There is a tendency for the first 4 lines to rise upward from a level plane as they flow from left to right. The opposite tendency may be observed in the final two lines, a feature also of Cephisodotus's inscription. Guarducci 1952: 128 notes that the cutter had particular difficulties with the final line because the surface of the stone had not been properly prepared for inscription at this point.

45 This is a point made by Foxhall 1989; see also Harris 1992: 309–10.

46 For a discussion of the evidence for property and ownership, particularly with regard to women, see Foxhall 1989, especially 25–39. For a discussion of the authority of the *kyrios* in Athens, see Schaps 1979: 52–8.

dispose of property generally begin with a law quoted in Isaios 10.10.⁴⁷ This law suggests that women had limited capacity to make substantial transactions. It should be noted, however, this is not the quotation of a complete law, but the paraphrase of a law made in a specific context and, as always in Greek oratory, for a specific purpose. The law also illustrates the restrictions placed on women with respect to the use and disposal of property in the public sphere.⁴⁸ There is some evidence, however, that within the family, women treated substantial amounts of money as their own and entered into contractual agreements without any mention made of a *kyrios*.⁴⁹ The wife of Polyeuctus, for example, lent 1800 drachmai to Spoudias, a relative of the family.⁵⁰ The loan was made with her own brothers as witnesses and she kept sealed records of the transaction in her private papers.⁵¹ Clearly, she would not have made such a loan to a stranger, but within the family she was able to use her own resources to benefit a family member and, coincidentally herself, since she apparently charged interest on the loan.⁵² The expense of high quality dedications such as Xenocratia's and those of other women would have been such that, legally speaking, might require the consent of a *kyrios*, a fact which was not necessary nor even desirable to express in the religious context in which the gifts were made, especially from the point of view of the dedicants themselves.

The foundation of a sanctuary such as that of Cephisus and the altar-sharing gods requires the gift of land. The evidence for the capacity of women to own landed property in late fifth-century Athens is more problematic than for other types and many scholars would argue that women were not able to own landed property at all.⁵³ Certainly, the references to land of which women are the apparent owners are ambiguous.⁵⁴ And there is no evidence of the sale

47 $\piαιδὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστι διαθήκην γενέσθαι· ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κωλύει παιδί μὴ ἐξείναι συμβάλλειν μηδὲ γυναικὶ πέρα μεδίμνου κριθῶν.$ "It is not lawful for a child to make a will. For the law expressly forbids a child from being able to make a contract, or a woman, beyond a medimnos of barley." On this law see the discussion of Kuenen-Janssens 1941.

48 Foxhall 1989: 34 notes that disposal of property almost always takes place in the public sphere. Presumably, transactions that might take place in the private sphere of the *oikos* usually remain hidden.

49 For a summary of the monetary transactions of women involving substantial amounts, see Schaps 1979: 52–3.

50 Dem. 41.8–9.

51 Schaps 1979: 55–6 notes that the brothers are explicitly called witnesses, not *kyrioi*.

52 The speaker mentions interest charged on loans made to Spoudias. He also suggests that he himself received a loan from Polyeuctos' wife. Thus her loan to Spoudias was not unique.

53 See, for example, Schaps 1979: 4–7.

54 de Ste. Croix 1970; Schaps 1979: 5; Foxhall 1989: 29.

or purchase of land by women in our sources. Women could receive substantial gifts, which might include landed property. And in the case of intestacy, women could inherit property, including land, through the *anchisteia*.⁵⁵ The period in which Xenocratia founded the sanctuary, c. 410–400 BCE, is also suggestive. This was a time of political and social upheaval in Athens. The plague was a not too distant memory, and the city had suffered many casualties in the Peloponnesian War and under the short-lived tyranny of the Thirty. This had an undeniably destabilizing effect on kinship and family groups. The anxiety for the children born around this time was no doubt acute. Xenocratia and her *oikos* may well have suffered from the loss of male relatives over the course of those years, putting her in the position to dedicate a plot of land to the gods, especially those who assisted in the upbringing and survival of her young son.

Although attempts have been made, it is not possible to know who exactly Xenocratia was and what her circumstances might have been.⁵⁶ Xenocratia herself names her father and son, who have the same name and belong to the same deme. She does not name a husband. This may simply be a reflection of the strong ties that women retained to their natal families, a bond shared by their children. Married women did not always name husbands in dedications.⁵⁷ But this lack of reference to a husband has led some scholars to look for Xenocratia's husband in the other dedicant in the sanctuary, Cephisodotus; her curious use of the word δῶρον coupled with Κηφισῶ in the first line is perhaps a poetic allusion to their relationship.⁵⁸ The two reliefs, carved by the same hand, are emblematic of their joint foundation.⁵⁹ The identification of Cephisodotus as Xenocratia's husband, however, is rather tenuous. What, then, is the relationship of Cephisodotus and the son of Xenocratia? If Xenias were a second son, adopted by his maternal grandfather, this might explain why he does not belong to the deme of his father. But if the *hieron* were a joint foundation, it is odd that this is not made explicit. Moreover, the contrast

55 de Ste. Croix 1970: 276; Foxhall 1989: 32 n. 54, Patterson 1998: 88–9.

56 Guarducci 1952: 127 makes the trenchant observation that earlier scholars created a complex fiction around Xenocratia. This is true of Cephisodotus and the putative priest of Cephisus as well.

57 Walter 1937: 100; Kron 1996: 155–8.

58 Purvis 2003: 31.

59 Purvis 2003: 25, 31. Purvis suggests that Xenocratia supplied the *hieron* and Cephisodotus the altar.

between Xenocratia's declaration, in text and image, and that of Cephisodotus, argues against any such collaboration.⁶⁰

It has been suggested that Xenocratia was an *epikleros*.⁶¹ If this is so, she was married to a close relative, and her son Xeniadēs was the heir of the maternal grandfather for whom he was named. The implication is that she was able to found a sanctuary on that account. But any land left by Xeniadēs senior was intended for Xeniadēs junior, not Xenocratia, who as *epikleros* did not inherit the property herself.⁶² If she did not, in fact, own the property used for this *hieron* herself, it is possible that she was able to dedicate it on behalf of her family by virtue of her own personal standing and influence. An *epikleros* might have significant authority within an *oikos*, but so might women in other circumstances. A widow, perhaps left in charge of a household after the death of her husband, could have similar personal power.⁶³

To understand how Xenocratia's dedication of land in her possession or under her authority might be possible, it is useful to examine the type of dedication she has made. The foundation of a sanctuary, however small a plot of land involved, was in essence different from dedications of other types, such as clothing, *phialai*, or statues. These left the possession of the donor and became the property of the god and the sanctuary, and could be used by the officials who administered the sanctuary. The foundation of the sanctuary also established a new cult of Cephisus. Like other gods, Cephisus relied on human caretakers to tend and protect his land as well as to carry out his rituals. A good example of this type of dedication is that of Xenophon, who describes in the fifth book of the *Anabasis* the sanctuary he founded to Artemis in Skillous.⁶⁴ Xenophon bought a plot of land with a tithe from the booty he received, as he had promised the goddess he would. He erected an altar and built a small temple on the site and established a herd of sacred cattle. Each year he celebrated a festival to which all the locals were invited. Xenophon dedicated a tithe of the produce from the land to provide food and wine for the festival. Artemis depended on

60 The image of Cephisus in the Artemis relief and the plea to Hermes and the Nymphs for the nurturing of children make this a suitable dedication for this sanctuary. But there is nothing explicit in dedication of Cephisodotus that links him to Xenocratia and her son.

61 See, most recently, Kron 1996: 168.

62 On the Athenian *epiklerate*, see Schaps 1975: 53–68, 1979: 74–88; Patterson 1998: 97–101; Cox 1998: 94–9.

63 For the control of an *oikos* that women who were widowed might take, as well as their personal authority, see Hunter 1989, especially 301–6.

64 Xen., *An.* 5.3.8–13. For a detailed discussion of Xenophon's foundation, see Purvis 2003: 65–120.

a human administrator to take care of her lands and make sure that the festival was suitably celebrated. That human was Xenophon himself; although he bought the land for the goddess, as he says, it remained, for all practical purposes, in his hands. Most likely, he intended to hand down stewardship of the land to his descendants, while it remained sacred to Artemis, as suggested by the sacred law that he had inscribed on a *stele*: ἱερὸς ὁ χώρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ καρπούμενον τὴν μὲν δεκάτην καταθύειν ἐκάστου ἔτους, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκευάζειν· ἐὰν δὲ τις μὴ ποιῇ ταῦτα, τῇ θεῷ μελήσει.⁶⁵

The *hieron* of Xenocratia was not on the same scale as that of Xenophon, but there were similarities. Xenocratia's foundation most likely placed the sanctuary in the hands of her own family or an extended family group. In the Hellenistic period, Epicteta of Thera founded a sanctuary of the Muses and at the same time established a religious association made up of the members of her family and that of her husband.⁶⁶ The resulting association developed a system for the maintenance of the cult and the sacred property. In such an association, administrators were found among the male members of the family. Whether Xenocratia formally set up a cultic association cannot be known, but such an association would have secured the future of the cult. Even if she did not, the land remained within her family and was a gift to them as much as to the gods.

The resources available to a woman such as Xenocratia, whatever her actual status, was greater than most because of the wealth of her family. That greater wealth could at the same time foster a desire for a more magnificent act of piety. Given the period in which it was made, Xenocratia's foundation of a sanctuary could have served to re-establish her family and reconstitute the remaining members around a new cult. Despite the restrictions placed on Xenocratia in the public sphere of the *polis* of Athens, she had and took advantage of greater freedom in the private world of the family and the *oikos*. Because she did not alienate the land in the same way that she would have done in the case of a sale, it was not necessary for her to own the land in her own right. Even if she

65 Xen., *An.* 5.3.13: "The land is sacred to Artemis. He who holds it and enjoys its fruits must offer the tithe every year in sacrifice, and from the remainder must maintain the temple. If anyone does not do these things, the goddess will take care of it."

66 IG XII 3.330. The foundation of Epicteta, of course, is a testamentary foundation and it was therefore imperative that she also found a group to carry out her intentions. It is worth noting that Epicteta specifically enrolled men from her own family in her new association in addition to her husband's relatives.

did own it, her dedication to Cephisus and the other gods still kept it within her family, destined to be maintained by Xeniadēs and his descendants. Her own authority in the private world of the *oikos* allowed her to make this public dedication. No doubt she acted with the consent and most likely the encouragement of her family. Permission for all who wish to perform a sacrifice in the sanctuary, whether or not this was the express wish of Xenocratia, made her endowment not just a gift to the gods and her family, but also to the larger community in the district of Echelidai.

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The Stoichedon Arrangement of the New Marathon Stele from the Villa of Herodes Atticus at Kynouria

Patricia A. Butz

The occasion of the First North American Epigraphical Congress is the right place to put the spotlight on an exceptional stele still in the process of being recognized for its potential influence on future interpretation of that most illustrious of Greek military achievements, Marathon.¹ Many places both inside and outside of Greece celebrated the 2500th Anniversary of the Battle of Marathon within just a few months of the Congress.² The New Marathon Stele, however, is not so widely known that it did not cause much comment and discussion at one such symposium devoted to the Battle of Marathon

¹ I wish to first acknowledge George Spyropoulos, Department of Exhibitions and Museum Research of the Greek Ministry of Culture, and current director of excavations at the Villa of Herodes Atticus in Kynouria. With his generous permission and that of the Ministry of Culture, I was able to view the New Marathon Stele in December of 2010 in the Museum of Astros in the Peloponnese. The discussion with Theodore Spyropoulos, longtime director at the Villa site, was likewise invaluable. I also acknowledge Christina Blassopoulou, emerita of the Department of Sculpture at the Akropolis Museum in Athens, for revisiting with me, during the same time period, a highly relevant monument: the newly installed Kallimachos Memorial located in the Archaic galleries. The symposium at the Michael C. Carlos Museum of Emory University was a catalyst, and I especially thank its moderator, Jasper Gaunt, Curator of Greek and Roman Art; and Peter Bing, Samuel Candler Dobbs Professor of Classics. My sincere appreciation goes to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and Maria Pilali for assistance in the permit process, and to the Art History Department of the Savannah College of Art and Design for supporting my participation in the First North American Epigraphical Congress.

This article does represent a work in progress; despite the fact that I have been in the presence of this inscription, which to me seemed so extraordinary when I learned of it that it warranted immediate personal autopsy, the detailed study I require for complete analysis of its stoichedon disposition together with palaeographic analysis, my own editing of the text, and consideration of the role of Herodes Atticus vis-à-vis the stoichedon style still awaits.

² Krentz, 181, citing Plutarch for the battle occurring on Boedromion 6 and commemorated thereafter by the Athenians; the year was 490 BCE.

and held at the Michael C. Carlos Museum of Emory University.³ For many in the audience, this was the first they had heard, or seen, of the stele. The very title of the symposium, ΦΑΟΣ ΑΦΘΙΤΟΝ ΑΙΕΙ (“Immortal Light: The Battle of Marathon and Its Athenian Legend”) deliberately invoked IG 1³ 503 and the epigrammatic tradition associated with the cultural memory of the battle, a tradition on which the New Marathon Stele now makes a highly significant entrance. Two papers, those of J. Gaunt and P. Bing, dealt respectively with the archaeology of Athenian dedications at the soros and the literary nature of the commemorative epigram as developed specifically for the phenomenon that was Marathon. Both papers introduced the New Marathon Stele from Kynouria as important evidence for arguments now to be made in the most fundamental areas of Marathon studies: namely the archaeology of the site and the literary expression generated from the event. If these are two of the disciplines most impacted by the remarkable discovery, hard-core epigraphy is certainly a third. The focus of this article is on the visual properties that put the stele in a foremost position for any discussion of 1) the development of the stoichedon style and 2) the merging of meaning in text and graphic layout in Greek inscriptions. In the end, it will be argued that the New Marathon Stele is, by definition, a hybrid of both rectified and offset stoichedon styles.

The discovery of the New Marathon Stele was made during the 1979–2001 excavations of T. and G. Spyropoulos at the Villa of Herodes Atticus in Kynouria.⁴ The stele was first introduced by G. Spyropoulos to the public in 2006 during a symposium held at the Epigraphical Museum in Athens.⁵ The first publications of the text proper followed in 2009: the article in *Horos* 17–21 (2004–2009) by G. Steinhauer entitled, “Στήλη πεσόντων τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος” and recognized by *SEG* as the editio princeps;⁶ and the monograph by G. Spyropoulos entitled, *Οἱ στήλες των πεσόντων στη μάχη του Μαραθώνα*, published by the Ινστιτούτο του Βιβλίου in Athens. In the same year, Steinhauer published *Ο Μαραθών και το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο* and *Marathon and the Archaeological Museum* (separate Greek and English editions) in the Museums Cycle collection of the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation. In these two lavishly illustrated works, the stele (which, however, is not pictured in either) is referred to as “a unique genuine monument of the battle” and dated to the fifth century BCE.⁷ The timing of all of these publications was such that P. Krentz in his 2010 book,

3 The symposium was held 24–25 September 2010.

4 Spyropoulos, 9.

5 Steinhauer, “Στήλη πεσόντων,” 679, n. 1.

6 *SEG* 56.430.

7 Steinhauer, *Μαραθών/Marathon*, 122.

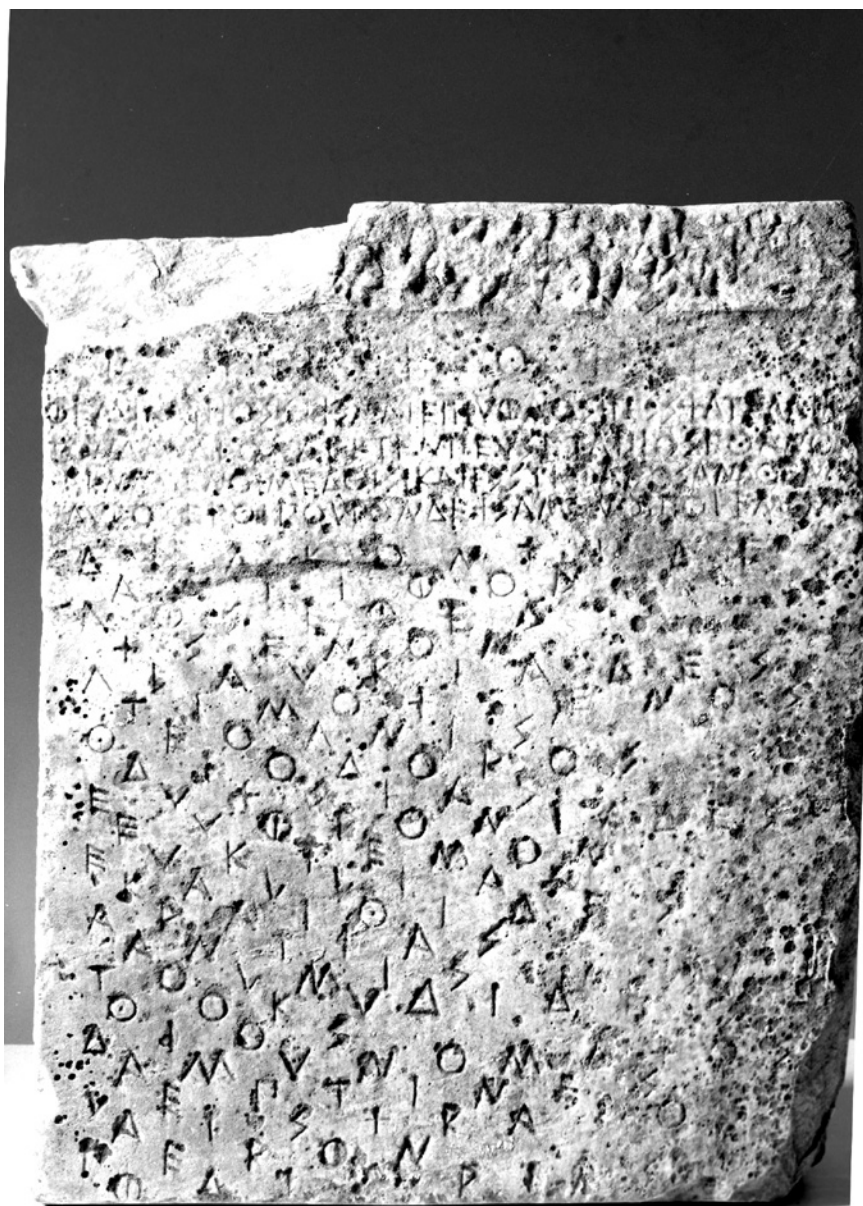


FIGURE 5.1 *The New Marathon Stele, front face carrying inscription.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE SPYROPOULOS; BY PERMISSION

The Battle of Marathon, could only refer to two reports in *SEG* (49.370N and 51.425) and Athenian newspaper articles of 2007 for “available information.”⁸

It is essential to first state what the New Marathon Stele actually is. It is, in simplest terms, a casualty list or partial casualty list for the fallen of the Erechtheid tribe at Marathon (Fig. 5.1). The condition of the stone shows extensive pocking and general damage due to the corrosive effects of water, particularly around certain of the letterform channels and on the right side generally. Steinhauer measures its preserved height at 0.68 m., width at 0.558 m. and 0.57 m. (top and bottom of the stele respectively), with corresponding depth at 0.265 m. and 0.285m.⁹ Its headline is restored in the nominative.¹⁰

An elegiac epigram of two distichs, tightly crammed into four inscribed lines with no appreciable interspacing between them, follows below the headline. The four lines occupy the full width of the stele. Making clear the Marathon connection, they eloquently proclaim:

Φῆμις ἄρ' | ἥος κιχ[ά|ν](<ει> αἰεῖ || εὐφραδς | ἡέσσχατα | γαί[ες]
 Τδνδ' ἀνδ|ρδν ἀρε|τὲν || πεύσεται, | ἥος ἔθανον
 [μ]αρνάμε|νοι Μέ|δοισι || καὶ ἐσστεφά|νοσαν Ἀ|θῆνα[ς]
 [π]αυρότε|ροι πο|λλδν || δεχσάμε|νοι πόλε|μον.

Renown, that which forever lights upon the ends of the all-bright earth,
 will learn of the excellence of these men, how they died
 encountering the Medes, and that they set a crown around Athens,
 being few in number, having accepted the battle fury of many.¹¹

There is a cosmic and prescient quality to the imagery of light extending horizontally as an infinite line to the farthest reaches of the earth coupled with the imagery of the victory wreath placed around the head of Athens in what would be a continuous circle. The epigram, I would argue, implies the eternal renown of Marathon, and hence the remembrance of its warriors, through the two perfect geometric configurations.

The remaining space of the stele is left to be dominated by twenty-two names of the fallen. The names are alternately indented, and the individual letters of each of the names are spaced out, line by line, to the extent that a full checkerboard effect is created. The left flank of the stele preserves its

8 Krentz, 224.

9 Steinhauer, “Στηλιη πεσόντων,” 679.

10 Ibid., 680.

11 The transcription and editing of the epigram is Steinhauer’s (ibid.); the translation is my own.

original surface, whereas the right, similar to the bottom of the stone, looks recut. The stele is cleanly cut at the base, just grazing the bottom of the last legible name, suggesting that the list may originally have been longer. Indeed, one might think, given the short and squared, almost squat proportions of the stele as preserved, that the list should have numbered even more than the few additional names proposed by Steinhauer;¹² but the number of names and the nature of the cut at the bottom of the stone is something that will be discussed further in this article. Regardless of the length of the casualty list, it is certainly not impossible that the stele proper once stood twice its present height. How it was originally set at its baseline is a very important question to consider, because the stele had to have achieved a more impressive presence and greater legibility on its own terms than we see now. This was a strong piece of stone and highly architectural in its original conception. The pronounced depth of the stele is reinforced by the projection of its cymata molding, still surviving over the left flank of the monument (Fig. 5.2), but chiseled off the front face. The use of the pointed chisel to achieve this is evident in the texture of the flattened strip. The peculiar treatment of the right flank, with its rebate edge and groove cut halfway back and running the full height (Fig. 5.3), as well as the similar recut appearance along the bottom of the stele both deserve more consideration than received thus far in the publications; they shed light on the complexities of installation, reinstallation, or reuse phases which will be returned to later.¹³

Spyropoulos and Steinhauer both favor an interpretation that makes this stele part of a multiple series of lists, as witnessed by the decisive plural in the title of Spyropoulos' monograph, supported by the finding of two additional fragments, each some 19 cm. in height, with letterforms disposed in a similarly spaced-out manner. The height given by Steinhauer for the letterforms on these fragments (0.017–0.02 m.) is essentially the same as the names on the major stele (0.018 m.), and the lettering is not incompatible.¹⁴ Both fragments are floating, and more thorough examination is necessary before ascertaining that they positively could not come from the lower part of the major stele. Spyropoulos and Steinhauer identify the marble of the major stele as Pentelic, Spyropoulos stating the identification unequivocally, Steinhauer only a little less so (... λευκό, κατὰ πάσα πιθανότητα πεντελικό, μάρμαρο ...).¹⁵ For something

¹² Ibid., 685.

¹³ See Spyropoulos, 44, Eix. 5, for the detail of the bottom.

¹⁴ Steinhauer, "Στήλη πεσόντων," 686–687. He pictures one of the fragments on 192, Eix. 5. See also Spyropoulos, 45, Eix. 7 and 8 for both fragments.

¹⁵ Spyropoulos, 28; Steinhauer, *ibid.*, 679.



FIGURE 5.2 *The New Marathon Stele, left side.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE SPYROPOULOS; BY PERMISSION



FIGURE 5.3 *The New Marathon Stele, right side.*

PHOTOGRAPHY BY GEORGE SPYROPOULOS; BY PERMISSION

as important as the New Marathon Stele, to say “in all probability” that the marble is Pentelic is not good enough; the marble should be examined scientifically for its provenance.¹⁶ Steinhauer seemingly refers to a polyandron as though, by definition, it requires multiple parts; the magnificent stele as we have it is already a polyandron and in my opinion is more than capable, as such, of standing on its own. Certainly there is no possibility that it was made to juxtapose with anything on its left side thanks to the projection of its molding, and the back is roughly chiseled as even a monumental relief could have been for juxtaposition against a wall. The right side is another matter. It was either deliberately embellished by its groove or something was made to connect there and maybe at the bottom as well. Indeed, the New Marathon Stele at Kynouria may have contributed to some larger memorial that transcended even the subject of Marathon per se, given Herodes Atticus’ propensity for eclectic memorialization at other of his villa sites. Kynouria itself is known for the range and richness of its portraiture, its evidence for Egyptianization, and architectural innovation unexpectedly found in what can only be described as a remotely situated refuge or villa retreat to be enjoyed by its owner and those fortunate to be invited there.¹⁷ It perhaps should not astound us that such a stele was apparently part of a collection that boasts a protome of Hadrian cuirassed with the emblem of Antinous in place of the Medusa on the breastplate, now on view at the Museum of Astros. Likewise the New Marathon Stele could have been an important member of an epigraphical montage all of its own. One possibility might be a series of large inscriptions recut and displayed along or supported by a wall, with the New Marathon Stele occupying a position somewhere on the far left because of its preserved molding. This would help explain the nature of the recutting on the right side and bottom. The removal of the molding from the front, which is carefully done, may actually have improved visibility of the headline and the epigram. Conceivably the two small fragments, with their unusual lettering, could have accompanied the display in some way, whether installed or not, even as conversation pieces to be held and admired.

The originality that seems indigenous to very context of the villa at Kynouria, brings us to the most striking element of the New Marathon Stele and what has motivated my quest for further study of it: the extraordinary layout of the catalogue of names. Earlier in the article the letterforms of the names were referred to as “spaced out,” specifically as opposed to the tightly compacted look of the epigram letterforms, which are also smaller in size.¹⁸ The names

16 For the value of the scientific identification of the marble of the Hekatompedon Inscription (Hymettan as opposed to the widely accepted Parian), see Butz, vii.

17 Tobin, 333–334.

18 Steinhauer, “Στηλι πεσόντων,” 681.

are, in fact, arranged in stoichedon format, but the letterforms that compose the names are in alignment every other line and hence alternate negative and positive spaces on the vertical. This stepped quality is clearly established at the left margin where every other name is indented a full stoichos unit. But thanks to this alternation, a brand new and even more arresting pattern is created: a diagonal formation connecting every line with no alternations whatsoever. These parallel diagonals, or crossed diagonals if the eye is allowed to move freely and find connections, create visual chromosomes, so to speak, strongly linked one to the other. These diagonals may not make sense in terms of onomastics, but they unite the names in a way that goes beyond their individual identity reading on the staggered horizontals. The names, however, are most definitely arranged in stoichedon format, and because the fully spaced-out letterforms align exactly every other line, the rectified grid is preserved and the stoichedon arrangement itself is fully rectified despite the alternation or offset appearance given to the text.

In *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription and the Birth of the Stoichedon Style*, I have formalized a double definition for stoichedon that takes into account rectified and offset elements in the graphic layout of ancient Greek texts. The definitions are as follows:

Rectified stoichedon: an inscription or part of an inscription built on a grid system that deploys its letterforms directly below each other (line by line).

Offset stoichedon: an inscription or part of an inscription built on a grid system that deploys its letterforms in alignment but not directly below each other (line by line); i.e. offset in the manner of an isodomic wall construction.¹⁹

At the time of publication, the finest example I could show for the phenomenon of the fully realized offset definition was the magical healing Stele of Moschion from Sakha in Lower Egypt (*SEG* 8.464, where it is dated second to third centuries CE, although a Ptolemaic date should be considered). The stele exists in two parts: the intact top of the stele which I have termed the “Cairo Lunette” because it is housed in the Egyptian Museum today; and the “Berlin Fragment,” a large broken body fragment of the stele which most fortunately includes parts of the squared magical grids rendered in Greek and demotic

19 Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription*, xx. These definitions were first introduced in Butz, “The Double Publication of a Sacred Prohibition on Delos: *ID* 68, A and B,” 93, n. 64. The overlapping of blocks in the laying of wall courses was referred to here as well.

Egyptian.²⁰ It so happens that the word stoichedon also appears at l. 33 in the course of the Moschion text to describe the way in which the magical square in Greek, one letter per stoichos unit, is to be read utilizing horizontals, verticals, and above all diagonals to get its full message across.²¹ The hidden but coherent text of the Moschion word square is paradoxically made legible thanks to the diagonals, which themselves read as repeated letterforms. In fact, it is essential for the diagonals to function this way in order to activate the magical spell as well as the magical pattern. The Moschion Stele is the cornerstone inscription for understanding the full dynamic of stoichedon with its internal definition that incorporates the diagonal as well as the rectified and offset properties of the style.

But now there is another rare example for all of this. The list of preserved names on the New Marathon Stele, when considered as an entity, is composed in a distinctly squared format. The number of names and the number of stoichos units is essentially the same: twenty-two names on the vertical, twenty-one stoichoi occupied by letterforms on the horizontal. For all intents and purposes, this creates a near-perfect word square. One more name on the list would seriously disrupt it, and that is worth considering. Was the list originally complete with the twenty-second name of Φαι[δ]ρίας at l. 27, which would allow the perfection of the word square to be showcased no matter how much blank space was below; or was the list cut off and finished right below this name in order to create the near-perfect word square for display? Furthermore, the New Marathon Stele demonstrates alignment for the names of the fallen military men on those same kinds of diagonals, but in contrast to the Moschion Stele, the individual names break down on the diagonal and are no longer readable as any sustained pattern. The reason for this is the alternation of full empty spaces in the grid, the “spacing out” of the names. There are pieces of diagonal patterns that catch the eye: a set of two sigmas flanked by deltas on one right-to-left diagonal from the thirteenth through the sixteenth names (ll. 18–21); another incorporating nus, a mu, and a rho along a right-to-left diagonal connecting the eighteenth through the twenty-first names (ll. 23–26); a set of two alphas followed by three omicrons on the left-to-right diagonal for the thirteenth through the eighteenth names (ll. 18–22). The latter are on line to cross with the first example given, producing a chiasmus – but these are

20 See *SEG* for the line drawings of the parts and divisions of the stele as well as a closeup of the Greek grid.

21 The word στοιχῆδον occurs at l. 33 on the “Berlin Fragment” in the text below the Greek grid. The Moschion Stele is explicated in Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription*, 106–110, with photographs.

segments only. Although the design holds, individual coherence is ultimately lost over the whole of the stele, even on the horizontals where the spacing out makes the names hard to read. Yet there is a sense of the military formation of the phalanx, the overlapping format of individual hoplite warriors for the sake of the group that is preserved.²² The visual statement is an extremely powerful and paradoxical one.

Steinhauer is at great pains to link the manner of inscription with the term *plinthedon* and does not use the term *stoichedon* to describe it in either the *Horos* editio princeps or the Marathon catalogues. In *Horos*, he cites attestations for *plinthedon* as follows: Πολ. x 24 (22), 7; two scholiasts, one for the twelfth-century CE theologian Eustathius of Thessalonika (exact reference not given although it may be found in LSJ) and the other for Dionysius Thrax (σ. 191.3); and later Hdt. II 96.²³ The most promising of these sources give architectural applications for the term: the squared method of building where the *plinthos* or brick is placed in alternating courses or the laying down of planks on Egyptian boats for their construction. This is the characteristic of *isodomic* masonry, an example I myself use to explain offset *stoichedon*. The name list of the New Marathon Stele may give the impression of simple offset *stoichedon* because of the staccato effect, but in fact there is no overlapping of the letterforms occupying the aligned modular units in the juxtaposed lines, which is characteristic not only of offset *stoichedon* but any *isodomic* masonry model. *Isodomic* masonry, used by Steinhauer as a metaphor for the New Marathon Stele layout, is properly defined as “a variety of masonry in which blocks of equal length and thickness are laid in courses so that each vertical joint of a course comes over the middle of a block just below.”²⁴ His use of the metaphor is incorrect because the individual letters of the names of the fallen are, once again, separated by a whole *stoichos* unit, not a half.

LSJ defines *πλινθηδόν* as an adverb pertaining to brick-laying in courses with joints alternating (i.e. *isodomic* masonry) and also to writing in a rectangle,

22 See Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription*, 110, for the relationship of offset *stoichedon* to hoplite formation. Steinhauer also discusses the phalanx, the military, and their relationship to the appearance of the New Marathon Stele (“Στηγήλη πεσόντων,” 683).

23 Ibid., 682–684. See especially 683, n. 5 and n. 6 for Steinhauer’s manner of citation from *Grammatici Graeci*. The visualization of the *plinthedon* style is not clearly made or explicated from the letterforms given, and this is crucial. *Plinthedon* has been used to mean writing in the shape of a rectangle, around the perimeter, which is what can be inferred from the scholiast. By contrast, there is no direct citation at all supplied from Eustathius in n. 4.

24 Webster’s *New International Dictionary*, 2d ed, s.v. “isodomum, -mon,” one of the most articulate definitions available for the term. See also Vitruvius 2.8.6.

citing the scholiasts already mentioned for the latter. Πλίνθος is defined as a brick and the diminutive πλινθίον as a small brick, but also a checkerboard or table of numbers divided into squares from later sources. There is a second diminutive, πλινθίς (s.v.) that takes on the characteristics of a checkerboard and becomes relevant to the discussion since its genitive, πλινθίδος (the same as for πλίνθος), occurs twice on the Moschion Stele in the vicinity of l. 33. The plinthis or plinthos is, in fact, the magical grid, the table of letters that can be magically turned even though fixed by its inscription on the stele. Undoubtedly, a certain cross-over is possible between some of these definitions, and the difference between a rectangle and a square could even be considered problematic in terms of absolute precision. But to “inscribe something plinthedon” is, properly, to inscribe in a rectangular format, marking the periphery, going back to the scholiasts, my example of which is *IG* 1³ 1007. Stoichedon is the only one of these terms that involves the active role of diagonals, and it literally occurs on a plinthos/plinthis in both the Moschion Stele and the New Marathon Stele. The word stoichedon is privileged by its attestation on an epigraphic monument, namely the Moschion Stele. None of the plinthedon examples constitute the direct use of that term within an epigraphical text; if they had they could have acted as a meta-definition.

The palaeography of the New Marathon Stele reveals a preference for archaic Attic forms in a number of the diagnostic letters; even with the in-depth study of their formation pending, this is my initial observation. The strongly-tailed epsilon, alpha with the strongly-angled crossbar, collapsed three-bar sigma, tailed rho, crossed chi are leaders in this category. As they are among the most obvious markers in an archaic inscription, they therefore become prime candidates for archaizing. What seems to be a self-conscious rusticity in the technique of the inscription is another (Fig. 5.4). In the catalogue of names, the irregularity in certain letterforms is belied by the precision necessary to successfully lay out the rectified stoichedon grid. The regularity of the circular forms also helps to hold the formation, and they may be mechanically, partially mechanically made, or a combination. In the epigram, the jamming of the letterforms, both interliterate and interlinear, creates its own “careless” field effect, seemingly the opposite of the expansion of the catalogue of names, but a field of letterforms nonetheless. The strange dynamic between these two discrete parts of the text, the way they play off of each another, is one of the most salient visual and literary properties of the stele (Fig. 5.5). The roughness seen in both parts may in fact be artificial and deliberate; closer examination in the next phase of study should clarify this point.

The question of date is particularly crucial for this monument. Although letterforms are ruled suspect and unreliable as a means of determining date, they can still figure strongly in the discussion for epigraphists. As stated above,

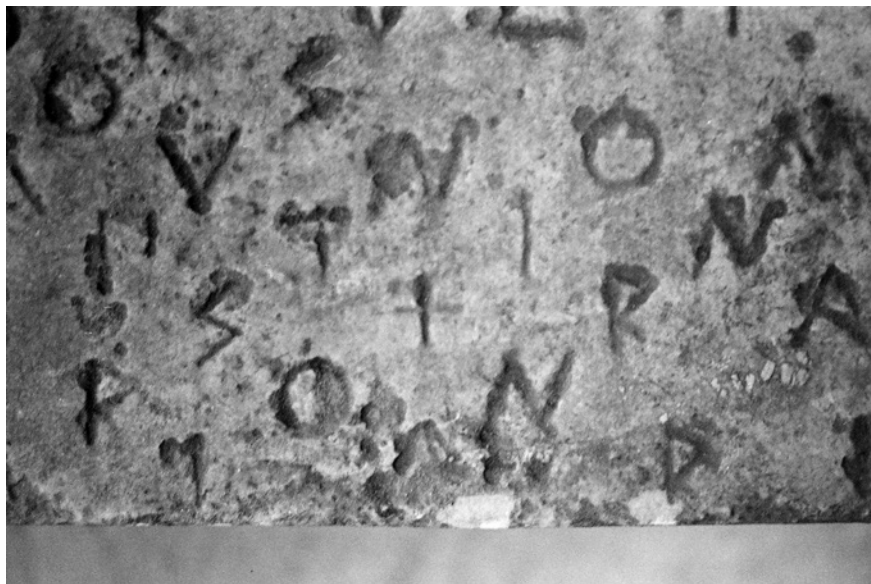


FIGURE 5.4 *Detail of the matrix of letterforms composing the casualty list, ll. 21–27, bottom center of the stele.*

AUTHOR'S PHOTOGRAPH; BY PERMISSION OF GEORGE SPYROPOULOS



FIGURE 5.5 *View of the top center of the stele showing distribution of the headline, epigram, and casualty list.*

AUTHOR'S PHOTOGRAPH; BY PERMISSION OF GEORGE SPYROPOULOS

there is a late archaic look to a number of significant letterforms. Steinhauer and Spyropoulos both advocate a fifth century date in accord with the memorialization of the site. Steinhauer sees the roughness as proof of the fifth century date and that the stele can be neither a copy nor archaizing.²⁵ Cited by Krentz, *Kathimerini* for March 13, 2007, quoted Spyropoulos as claiming the stele to be a “supreme monument to the heroized dead, from the grave and not the mound of the Athenians at Marathon.”²⁶ This would mean that, many centuries later, Herodes Atticus, as a Marathonian and member of the Aiantis tribe, appropriated the original stele (and others as well if the two aforementioned fragments are so interpreted) for himself, brought it to his villa at Kynouria, and placed it there. The northern basilica of the villa where the stele was found is a complex architectural area with a mixture of rooms and spaces on more than one level. J. Tobin, who saw the villa as part of her study on Herodes Atticus as patron of Athens, observed a lime kiln installed in the central niche of the nymphaeum, clearly a later addition to the scene but a frightening one as well.²⁷ As she states, pieces not originally from the villa could have been brought in for destruction; this stele should not be discounted from such a potential fate or a narrow escape.

If the New Marathon Stele were original to the fifth century, as Spyropoulos and Steinhauer both forward, it would be in that unique position of primary document par excellence emanating from the very sourcepoint of Greek nationalism. Discussion of its place among the other Marathon memorials, most notably the Athenian memorial with its two epigrams, the first of which is credited to the Hekatompedon Master himself,²⁸ has enormous potential. But still wonderful would be the idea of a copy generated in some way by Herodes Atticus himself, or someone unknown in between these two time frames. Herodes cared about inscriptions, both from the standpoint of patron, i.e. instigating epigraphic monuments or monuments that involved inscriptions on a large scale, and from the standpoint of collector. There is evidence that he could have been particularly occupied with the stoichedon style and its manifestations in other monuments associated with him, even beyond the fact that he favored archaizing.²⁹ What elevates the New Marathon Stele is

25 Steinhauer, “Στήλη πεσόντων,” 684–685.

26 Krentz, 224.

27 Tobin, 335, 350.

28 Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription*, 120–123.

29 There are inscriptions from Marousi in particular that I find indicate Herodes’ interest in an archaizing stoichedon style. This requires more investigation as indicated in the first endnote.

its amalgamation of a new and eloquent war epigram with the most “loaded” stoichedon arrangement possible, an arrangement full of subliminal meaning: if original to the period, the stele is a haunting masterpiece; if archaizing, it is no less brilliant. The later date for the hybrid achievement of its stoichedon arrangement would be chronologically more compatible with the valuable exemplar provided by the Stele of Moschion, but the immense creativity of the New Marathon Stele would find itself at home period-wise with the achievements of the Hekatompedon Master.

We come back to the fact that the New Marathon Stele is a casualty list with the epigram inscribed ahead of the list proper, supplying the context and directing the interpretation of the sacrifice made. Concerning the genre, Geoffrey Bakewell states:

Inscribed pieces of at least thirty distinct casualty lists survive, with the earliest securely dated specimen coming from approximately 464. One striking feature of these lists is their heterogeneity. At one level this is apparent in their physical format. While some monuments were composed of a single stele, others were made up of several, either freestanding or conjoined. Some monuments contained epigrams in a variety of locations; others apparently bore none. The number, grouping and placement of the names of the dead also differed from stele to stele. With regard to inscriptional content, variety is again the rule. Some lists employed geographical rubrics, while others did not. Some provided additional information about some of the dead; others made no distinction among the fallen. Indeed, the variation among the surviving casualty lists is so pronounced that even basic questions remain unanswered. . . . The best explanation for the variation among casualty lists is that no centralized, regular template ever existed. On the contrary, the differing characteristics of the monuments reflect the heterogeneous nature of the initial records on which they were based. One of the few features common to almost all casualty lists, the grouping of the dead by tribe, points to individual generals as the most likely source of the inscribed information.³⁰

Bakewell's last comment is an intriguing one, suggesting that important decisions even as to the appearance of the polyandron lay at the high end. Comparison of another Erechtheid monument, *IG* I³ 1147 (the Nointel Marble) dated 460 BCE, with the New Marathon Stele shows a very different manipulation of the possible elements of a casualty list. Following the tribal headline,

30 Bakewell, 93–94.

IG I³ 1147 has no epigram but rather a summary of the war theatres that saw action, then a listing that singles out a hierarchy of generals as well as using topographical dividers. The inscription is rendered in rectified stoichedon with some offset elements. Generals can, of course, step off of the stele for purposes of individual memorialization. One of the most illustrious generals of the Battle of Marathon has a monument of his own that stands unique and controversial within the genre of inscribed columns. The new installation of the Kallimachos Memorial (IG I³ 784) in the Akropolis Museum features the column fixed in its original base as identified by Manolis Korres, crowned with the Nike (or Iris) sculpture.

The Marathon monuments by their nature attract comment and debate, and the New Marathon Stele will be no exception. Whatever its date, its timeless elements consist of the headline of the single tribe – the tribe that, as Bing pointed out in his talk at Emory, bore the brunt of the Persian attack on the right flank and would have taken heavy losses; the epigram with its clear reference to Marathon; and the catalogue of names, unembellished in any way but set in such a telltale format. If we were to think of casualty lists, by their manipulation of these simple elements, as more fact-oriented or more narrative-oriented, I think we would be hard-pressed to give precedence to one over the other in the case of this stele. At face value, the epigram would seem to contain the narratological element, the name list the purely factual. But because of the perfection of the hybrid stoichedon arrangement chosen to present the factual, the name list morphs into the narratological, the concretization of the story. Certain epigrams urge the passer-by to stay and meditate upon a stele and the life or lives commemorated there. The New Marathon Stele does this without asking, most of all through its graphic disposition of text. When the horizontals become diagonals then become verticals and the letterforms making up the names assemble, reassemble, disintegrate, fall or are blown to the ends of the earth, we recall the Homeric metaphor of the filling out and the falling down of leaves from a great tree, signifying the passing of generations.

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The Nemesia in Lycurgan Athens

John L. Friend

Stais' discovery of a rounded base (*IG* 11² 3105), found below the eastern wall of the *temenos* of Nemesis at Rhamnous, perplexed scholars until Petrakos' recent addition of two new fragments to the heading of the dedicatory inscription removed any doubt that it belonged to the Lycurgan ephebic corpus.¹ Petrakos' restoration of the heading, along with the demotic for the *sophronistes*, is as follows (*SEG* 31. 162):

- [ὁ σωφ]ρονιστῆς Περικ[-----]Ἀναγυρ]άσιος
 [καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἐρε]χθείδος ἐφήβων γ[υμ]νασίαρχοι ἀνέθεσαν,
 3 [οἱ ἐπὶ] Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος λαμπάδι νικήσαντες
 [---]ανδρος Τιμ[---] Εὐωνυμεύς, Χαρικλῆς Ἀλεξιμένου Περγασήθεν.

- The *sophronistes* Perik[... of Anagyr]ous and the gymnasiarchs of the ephebes of Erechtheis made this dedication. Those in the archonship of
 3 Nicocrates gained victory in the torch race, [. . .]Andros, son of Tim[. . .], of Euonymon, Charikles, son of Aleximenes, of Pergase.

The reason for the dedication is clear. The *sophronistes* and *gymnasiarchoi* of Erechtheis erected it in commemoration of the ephebes' victory in the *lampadedromia*. Below the heading the entire ephebic *phyle*, consisting of 47 or 48 names arranged in 5 columns, was honored for being *lampadephoroi*, although only 10 ephebes would have actually run in the torch race (cf. *IG* 11² 1250, lines 13–22, dated to 350's or 340's). The heading uses an abbreviated enrollment formula (ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος) to designate the archon year (333/2) in which this particular *phyle* of ephebes entered the ephebeia.²

1 Stais 1891: no. 7. Petrakos 1979: no. 21. Before Petrakos' discovery scholars were divided over whether *IG* 11² 3105 was an ephebic inscription (Pouilloux 1954: 111; Pélékidis 1962: 119; Reinmuth 1971: 52; Lewis 1973: 256). For a bibliography on *IG* 11² 3105, see Petrakos 1999: vol. 2, no. 98. Also see *SEG* 34. 208; 37. 233; 39. 185. All dates in this paper, except where otherwise indicated, are BCE.

2 The full formula is shown in *IG* 11² 1156, lines 52–3: οἱ [ἐφήβοι] οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλέος ἄρχοντος ἐγγραφέντες. This literally means “the ephebes enrolled in the archonship of Ctesicles:” i.e. their enrollment year was 334/3.

Since the ephebes were required to perform two years of garrison duty and could have competed in the torch race at any time during their military service ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42. 4), it follows that the *sophronistes* and *gymnasiarchoi* must have made their dedication in 333/2 or 332/1. Stais associated the base with *NM* 313, a hip-herm of a youthful male figure dressed in a short *chiton* and *chlamys*, found nearby.³ Palagia and Lewis have studied this sculpture and conclude that it would have fit into the base's rectangular cutting. There is no certainty as to identification, but possibilities include Hermes, an Athenian ephebe, or Munichus, the eponymus hero of the *helikia* of 333/2.⁴

Beginning with Pouilloux, scholars have tentatively suggested that the Nemesia was the occasion for the victory of the ephebes of Erechtheis.⁵ The inscription, however, does not refer to the festival context. This is unsurprising if we consider that the twenty-eight known ephebic dedications securely dated (or thought to belong to) to the 330's and 320's do not provide an itinerary of the ephebes' religious activities – sacrifices, processions, and athletic competitions – during their stint in the ephebeia.⁶ The earliest explicit mention of an Athenian festival is found in *Ag.* 1 7484 (214/3), though if we can trust the restoration οἱ τῶμ Μυστηρίων ἐπιμεληταί in *SEG* 29. 104, line 13, then the first instance can be dated instead to 258/7. Nor do later inscriptions, which attest to the widespread participation of the ephebes in state cult, list the Nemesia as one their events (e.g. *IG* 11² 1006 [122/1]; *IG* 11² 1011 [106/5]). But this absence is not decisive because the Hellenistic festival program may have been established only after 229 in the wake of Athens' regained independence from Macedon.⁷ We must also take into account that the ephebeia itself had changed greatly by this time. While the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* (42. 3–5) describes the ephebeia as a two-year long state-funded and-organized program of compulsory military service for eighteen and nineteen year old citizens, its Hellenistic successor declined in military importance and developed into a voluntary educational institution for the wealthy.⁸ Given these differences and their implications for the nature and extent of the ephebes' involvement in the religious life of the *polis*, one should be hesitant to extrapolate from later ephebic decrees for the fourth century.

3 Stais 1891: 56–60.

4 Palagia and Lewis 1989: 338, 344.

5 Pouilloux 1954: 106–7; Reinmuth 1971: 52; Humphreys 2004: 115.

6 The Lycurgan ephebic corpus is collected in Friend 2009: 194–234.

7 Mikalson 1998: 183–4, 292.

8 For a detailed but dated discussion of the Hellenistic ephebeia, see Pélékidis 1962: 211–56.

Moreover, despite the fact that the excavation of Rhamnous has greatly improved our understanding of the deme's history in many respects, our knowledge of the inhabitants' cultic activities remains incomplete and difficult to interpret.⁹ Unfortunately, although the Rhamnousians would have perhaps observed a festival program as varied and extensive as the demesmen of Erchia (*SEG* 21. 541), the former's sacred calendar (*fasti*) has not survived.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it is possible to place *IG* II² 3105+*SEG* 31. 162 in its proper context by examining *IG* II² 4594a, a little-discussed dedication unearthed on the western side of the southern slope at Rhamnous.¹¹ The full text is given below:

[Θε]οφάνης Ἱεροφῶντος Ῥαμνούςιος Ἑρμεῖ [ἀν]έθηκεν στεφανωθε[ίς]
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν σοφρονιστῶν καὶ τῶν κοσμητῶν.
 3 ἔφηβοι ἔφηβοι ἔφηβοι
 οἱ ἐπὶ Νικοκράτου οἱ ἐπὶ Νικήτου οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφάνου
 ἄρχοντος ἄρχοντος ἄρχοντος

Theophanes, son of Hierophon, of Rhamnous, dedicated this to Hermes, having been crowned by the ephebes and the *sophronistai* and *kosmetai*.

3 Ephebes [enrolled] Ephebes [enrolled] Ephebes [enrolled]
 in the archonship of in the archonship of in the archonship of
 Nicocrates Nicetes Aristophanes

The inscription is enigmatic. While Reinmuth includes it in the ephebic corpus,¹² it is not in fact a decree honoring a *phyle* of ephebes for their devotion to garrison duty or a victory stele celebrating their excellence in athletic competition. Instead, it is a private dedication made to Hermes by an otherwise unknown Theophanes, a local Rhamnousian (*LPGN* 21290; *PA* 7084). The date is uncertain, but it cannot have been erected until the ephebes enrolled in the archonship of Aristophanes (331/o) had completed their second year of service. This implies a date of 330/29 or later.¹³ The heading offers no explanation as to why

9 Petrakos 1999 covers the site of Rhamnous (vol. 1) and has an epigraphical collection (vol. 2). Pouilloux 1954 is still useful.

10 For an analysis of the five deme *fasti* to have survived (Teithras; Eleusis; Marathon; Thorikos; Erchia) and deme religion generally, see Whitehead 1986: 176–222. Also see Humphreys 2004: 130–96; Parker 2005: 50–78.

11 See Petrakos 1999: vol. 2, no. 100 for a bibliography on *IG* II² 4594a.

12 Reinmuth 1971: no. 11.

13 Petrakos 1999: vol. 2, no. 99 incorrectly dates the inscription to 331/o.

the ephebes and their officers of three successive enrollment years (i.e. 333/2–331/0) should have crowned Theophanes, who appears to have held no formal position in the ephebeia: i.e. he was not a *kosmetes*, *sophronistes*, *paidotribes*, or *didaskalos*.¹⁴

Pouilloux suggests that Theophanes was honored because he had supplied oil to the ephebes as they exercised in the gymnasium and had arranged athletic contests for them during their garrison duty at Rhamnous.¹⁵ But how do we reconcile this view with the primary military function of the ephebeia? This was to guard the fortified points of Attica: “they then march to Piraeus, and some garrison Munychia and others Acte... they patrol the countryside and pass their time in the guard-posts. And they garrison for two years” ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42. 3–5).¹⁶ In 16 11² 1156 (333/2 BCE) the ephebes of Cecropis are twice explicitly honored for their deployment at Eleusis: ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι[ι οἱ] τῆς Κεκροπίδος ταχθέντες Ἐλευσίνι... (lines 36–7) and ἐπειδὴ... ἐπιμελοῦνται τῆς φυλακῆς Ἐλευσίνος οἱ[ι] τῆ[ς] Κεκροπίδ]ο[ς] ἔφηβοι... (lines 45–7). The large number of ephebic inscriptions unearthed at Rhamnous, most of which are unfortunately fragmentary, shows that contingents of ephebes would have garrisoned the strategically located fortress throughout the Lycurgan Period.¹⁷ But it is difficult to see how the ephebes could have contributed to “the defense of the countryside (ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς χώρας),” a matter of the highest institutional concern for the *demos* ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 43. 4), if all the *phylae* of a given enrollment year were stationed at Rhamnous while leaving the Athens-Piraeus enceinte and the other forts on the Attic-Boeotian border undermanned.¹⁸

A more plausible explanation for the ephebes’ collective presence at Rhamnous is that they had assembled temporarily to celebrate an annual festival of Nemesis, who was the divine personification of righteous indignation.¹⁹ The deme was a major center of her cult, whose sanctuary was (as it seems) in use from the early sixth century onwards. The Rhamnousians worshipped the goddess, who had her own priestess, along with Themis as a subordinate figure, far into the Hellenistic period.²⁰ The familiarity of the ephebes with the cult

14 For these officials, see Pélékidis 1962: 103–110.

15 Pouilloux 1954: 107, 110.

16 εἴτ’ εἰς Πειραιᾶ πορεύονται, καὶ φρουροῦσιν οἱ μὲν τὴν Μουνιχίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀκτὴν... περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν καὶ διατρίβουσιν ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις. φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη.

17 Petrakos 1999: vol. 2 nos. 98–99, 102–5, 132; Petrakos 2004.

18 A detailed discussion of Athenian fortifications is found in Ober 1985: 130–80.

19 For a recent study of Nemesis and her attributes, see Stafford 2000: 75–110.

20 The most comprehensive discussion of the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous is Petrakos 1999: vol. 1 185–296. The construction and date of the temple is also discussed in Miles 1989: 133–249. For aspects of her cult, see Stafford 2000: 78–96.

of Nemesis would have depended upon where they had been deployed during their second year of service. The ephebes of Pandionis, for example, who performed garrison duty at Rhamnous (in addition to stints of uncertain duration at Eleusis and Phyle), could have been involved in other cultic activities connected with the goddess so long as they remained at the deme (Petrakos 1999: vol. 2, no. 102 (333–324), lines 9–10). The majority of ephebic contingents, however, would have come to Rhamnous only to attend this particular festival before leaving promptly to resume their assigned duties elsewhere in Attica.²¹ The discovery of two fragmentary votive reliefs in the sanctuary of Nemesis, dated on stylistic grounds to the 330's, provides further corroboration that ephebes competed in the torch race at the goddess' festival. The best preserved relief (British Museum GR 1953. 5. –30. 1+ Rham. 530) depicts a procession of youthful male figures, probably a team of victorious ephebic *lampadephoroi*, moving towards three unnamed goddesses, who have been identified as Nemesis, Themis, and Nike.²²

The evidence taken together suggests that the ephebes of Erechtheis participated in the *Nemesia* (*ta Nemesia*), which is attested epigraphically in the third and second centuries BCE (*SEG* 25. 155, line 28 (235/4); 21. 435, line 24 (187/6)).²³ The only source to mention a festival of Nemesis before the Lycurgan period is Demosthenes *Against Spoudias* (11), where the speaker asserts that his wife, but not Spoudias', made an offering of one mna of silver to her deceased father at the *Nemeseia* (εἰσενεγκούσης τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς εἰς τὰ Νεμέσεια τῷ πατρὶ μνᾶν ἀργυρίου).²⁴ The context implies a funerary cult: the scholiast to the passage and the lexicographers define it as a night-long commemoration of the dead.²⁵ But Parker plausibly argues that *Nemeseia* is a textual corruption for *Genesia*, a public rite held yearly on 5 Boeodromion in honor of dead parents, and that the late sources are conjectures based upon Demosthenes' passage.²⁶ But even if we accept the reading, there is no certainty as to whether the *Nemeseia* was the same as the festival in which the ephebes participated.²⁷ Instead, it seems to

21 Whether the ephebes of Erechtheis were stationed at Rhamnous is unclear. *IG* II² 2401 (332/1) refers to the same group of ephebes, but the findspot is unknown (Palagia and Lewis 1989: 333–5).

22 For the date of these reliefs and the identification of the figures depicted, see Palagia and Lewis 1989: 339–44.

23 For the *Nemesia*, see Stafford 2000: 94–6; Parker 2005: 476.

24 Blass 1887–98: vol. 111/1. 249–253 dates the speech stylistically to Demosthenes' early career (i.e. the 360's).

25 Phot.; Suda; Harpocr. (s.v. *Nemesia*); Anecd. Bekk. 1. 282. 32.

26 Parker 1996: 246 n. 101. For the *Genesia*, see Parker 2005: 27–8.

27 Johnston 1999: 46 n. 29.

temples at the beginning of their military service ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42. 3: τὰ ἱερὰ περιήλθον), since the tour would have instead occurred in late Metageitnion or early Boedromion.³⁰ The importance attached to the financial arrangements and the officials' responsibility for the sacrifice on the inscription (lines 10–14) may also shed light on the nature of Theophanes' benefaction: perhaps he had donated sacrificial victims for the Nemesis, as Dicaearchus of Thria did in 235/4 (*SEG* 25. 155, lines 27–31), or had made some other substantial contribution towards the expenses of the festival.

It has been suggested that the ephebes of Erechtheis would have taken part in the Greater Nemesis like their Hellenistic descendants.³¹ But there is no way to determine from the extant evidence whether this agonistic festival was in fact the Greater Nemesis rather than the Nemesis held yearly at Rhamnous. Despite this, we cannot dismiss the possibility that the Greater Nemesis was a creation of the 330's, since the Athenians under the administration of Lycurgus devoted substantial resources to the revitalization of the *polis'* traditional cults in the two decades between the battle of Chaeronea and the Lamian War (338–323).³² Perhaps the Athenians, with energetic local support, founded a festival of Nemesis like the penteteric Amphiaraea at Oropus, which was first celebrated in 329/8, four years after the Atthidographer Phanodemus had drafted regulations for it (Petrakos 1997: nos. 297–8). It is unnecessary, however, to postulate the existence of a Greater Nemesis – it may well have been an innovation of the third century – to establish the significance of Nemesis' cult in the ephebeia's religious program, if we consider that the necessity of carrying out their garrison duties along with the difficulty involved in bringing together all the *phylae* scattered around Attica to the same sanctuary would have limited the number of festivals which the ephebes could have celebrated collectively. Apart from the (Greater) Nemesis, this select group seems to have

30 Foucart 1894: 244. Pélékidis' 1962: 219–20 analysis of late Hellenistic ephebic inscriptions suggests that the tour would have ended before 6 Boedromion, when the ephebes participated in the festival of Artemis Agrotera (e.g. *IG* II² 1011 [106/5], line 7). The Lycurgan ephebeia was probably no different.

31 Stafford 2000: 94–5.

32 This involved the refurbishment and construction of buildings at various sanctuaries, the adornment of their cults with magnificent dedications and sacred vessels, the introduction of new festivals and the addition of competitions to existing ones, and the reorganization of festivals on a sound financial footing. For a detailed discussion of these activities, see Parker 1996: 242–53; Mikalson 1998: 11–45; Humphreys 2004: 83–120.

consisted of major festivals like the Panatheneia, the Amphiaraea, and perhaps the Eleusinian Mysteries.³³

Although the Nemesia was a locally controlled and administered deme festival, it was not exclusive to the Rhamnousians.³⁴ This is clear from *IG* II² 3105+*SEG* 31. 162, because Rhamnous was not a deme of Erechtheis. The Nemesia, then, belongs to Whitehead's tentative third category of deme festivals, those which normally allow the participation of non-demesmen in some festivities.³⁵ The inclusion of the ephebes, however, is unlikely to have antedated the Lycurgan period.³⁶ The origin of the ephebeia is controversial among scholars, but a recent study strongly suggests that this institution was created in the aftermath of Alexander's destruction of Thebes in September 335 and began to function in the following archon year (Ctesicles: *IG* II² 1156; 1189; 2970).³⁷ This would mean that the ephebes cannot have attended the Nemesia until 334/3 at the earliest. The *terminus post quem* for the end of their participation would have been the probable abolition of the ephebeia after the Lamian War.³⁸ The brevity of the ephebes' association with the Nemesia, lasting about a decade, would help to explain why the festival is not mentioned in later texts after the ephebeia was revived in 305/4 (Reinmuth 1971: nos. 17–8). In addition to ephebes, the importance of Nemesis' cult to the *polis* may have attracted (numerous?) citizen celebrants from the city and other areas of Attica just as Athenians would travel to the deme of Halai Araphenides for the *Tauropolia* in the fourth century.³⁹ The Nemesia may have even included metics resident in Rhamnous (cf. Skambonidai *IG* I³ 244, C, lines 7–9, dated to ca. 460).

From 334/3 onwards, then, the participation of two complete enrollment years of ephebes – more than 1,000 as spectators and competitors – would have made them the most numerous group of celebrants at the Nemesia, even

33 The Nemesia is our fullest account of ephebes' fourth-century religious activities. The Panatheneia is attested in Harpocr. (s.v. *Skaphephoroi*) and the Amphiaraea in Petrakos 1997: no. 348. Some scholars assume that the ephebes celebrated the Eleusinian Mysteries (e.g. Humphreys 2004: 90–91) as in the Hellenistic period (Pélékidis 1962: 220–3) because they were stationed at Eleusis (*IG* II² 1156; 1189; *SEG* 41. 107).

34 *IG* I³ 248; *IG* II² 2493 + 2494. Parker 1996: 26 n. 56; Stafford 2000: 83.

35 Whitehead 1986: 205–6.

36 Parker 2005: 59.

37 For the argument that the ephebeia did not exist before Lycurgan Athens and the circumstances surrounding its creation in 335/4, see Friend 2009: 4–98.

38 See Mitchell 1964: 346–8 on *IG* II² 1187.

39 See Parker 2005: 59 n. 36 on Men. *Epitrep.* 119.

with considerable local involvement.⁴⁰ The details of how the Nemesis was reorganized to accommodate the ephebes remain obscure because nothing is known about the festival before the 330's. Given this, should we assume that the *pannuchis*, attested on an unpublished inscription recently discovered by Petrakos (*SEG* 48. 125 [184/3]), was an activity undertaken by women only in the Hellenistic Nemesis? Or does the *pannuchis* date to the Classical period? The one element of continuity for the festival in the fourth and third centuries is the *gumnikos agon*, which is explicitly mentioned in *SEG* 41. 75 and implied in *IG* II² 3105 + *SEG* 31. 162. Parker associates the ephebeia with the introduction of the *gumnikos agon*:⁴¹ i.e. the athletic competition was an innovation of the Lycurgan period and the *lampadedromia* was a new event.⁴² But was the *gumnikos agon* exclusively ephebic? *IG* II² 3109 (ca. 300–280), a dedication to Themis on an inscribed statue-base of a figure thought to be Themis (*NM* 231), may shed some light on this question.⁴³ If we assume, very tentatively, that the unnamed festival was held in honor of Nemesis rather than Themis, the dedicator Megacles the Rhamnousian may have been the victorious gymnasiarch for the boys and men in the Nemesis in addition to being the successful choregus in the comedy (καὶ νικήσας παισὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι γυμνασιαρχῶν καὶ κωμωιδῶν χορηγῶν).⁴⁴ This suggests that the Lycurgan Nemesis may have also had a competition in comedy and a *gumnikos agon* in which other age groups competed. Perhaps the ephebes were allowed to compete against the men in some events, since we have an inscription from Oropus where an Athenian celebrated his victory over the ephebes in the javelin at the Amphiaraea (Petrakos 1997: no. 348 [334/3–323/2 BCE]).

An explanation for why the ephebes celebrated the Nemesis in particular may be found in the Athenians' belief that Nemesis had played a pivotal role in their ancestors' victory over the Persians at the battle of Marathon in 490. According to Pausanias, the goddess expelled the invaders from Attica because she was angered at their *hubris* in attempting to incorporate the *polis*

40 Hansen 1988: 3–6 estimates from the few extant ephebic rosters that ca. 450–500 ephebes served in the first few years of the institution, increasing to ca. 600 after a decade. *IG* I³ 522bis (ca. 475–450 BCE) attests a dedication to Nemesis by the demesmen of Rhamnous.

41 Parker 1996: 246.

42 The *lampadedromia* may not have been the only “ephebic” event. Another possibility is the *eutaxia*, a competition apparently unique to ephebes in the Lycurgan period. The epigraphic evidence for the *eutaxia* is discussed in Lambert 2001: no. 4.

43 For the inscription, statue, and find-spot (small temple in Nemesis' sanctuary), see Palagia 1994: 118–9. Mantis 1990: 104–13 argues for a joint dedication to Themis and Nemesis.

44 For the gymnasiarchy at Rhamnous, see Wilson 2000: 323 n. 129.

into the Persian Empire.⁴⁵ Afterwards her cult statue was carved out of the same marble block which they had brought to Marathon for a trophy (1. 33. 2–3). This tradition is also attested in three late Hellenistic epigrams (16. 221–2; 263) preserved in the *Greek Anthology*, which claim to have been carved on the stone itself.⁴⁶ Finally, the second century CE orator Aelius Aristides notes the coincidence that the Persians came to Marathon (i.e. in close proximity to Rhamnous), the very place where they suffered badly for their insolence (*Pan.* 13). In gratitude for Nemesis' contribution to the Persian defeat, her sanctuary became the object of intense Athenian interest during the fifth century, elevating the status of what seems to have been previously a minor local cult. This culminated in the construction of a Doric peripteral temple around 430, in which Pheidias' pupil Agoracritus of Paros sculptured a magnificent cult statue of the goddess.⁴⁷ The iconography of the statue-base, though the identity of some figures is disputed, emphasizes her moral outrage against hubristic men: the scene with Nemesis and her daughter Helen depicts the goddess' retribution against Troy and thus serves as an allusion to the punishment of the Persians at Marathon.⁴⁸

The sources are silent, but there is reason to think that the citizens of Lycurgan Athens were as vigorous as their fifth-century ancestors in worshipping Nemesis on account of her association with Marathon. Not only had Philip decisively defeated the Athenians and their allies at the battle of Chaeronea in 338, but he had also deprived them of their independence in foreign affairs shortly afterwards.⁴⁹ Chaeronea, Lycurgus declared, was the moment when Greek freedom was buried alongside those who had died on the battlefield (*Leoc.* 50). A consequence of Athens' heavy defeat was increased vulnerability to Macedonian invasion – the city was threatened on three separate occasions between 338/7 and 335/4 (*Arr. Anab.* 1. 10. 2–6; *D.S.* 17. 4. 6–9). The Athenians, recognizing that they could not match the qualitatively and quantitatively superior Macedonian army in pitched battle, sought the favor of Nemesis in

45 Persian *hubris* as a *topos* in Greek literature is discussed in Fisher 1992: 256–63, 367–85.

46 The epigrams are attributed to the first-century BCE poet Parmenion, which Philip of Thessalonica published in his *Garland of Philip* in 40 CE (for the date of this collection, see Gow and Page 1968: xlvii–xlix).

47 Miles 1989: 221–42 argues for a construction date ca. 430–425 instead of ca. 436–432. See also Petrakos 1987: 305–6, 317–20; 1999: vol. 1 223.

48 For a reconstruction of the statue-base and the meaning of its sculptural reliefs, see Lapatin 1992: 107–19; Stafford 2000: 84–7. Palagia 2000: 62–8 has examined the political context of the statue's creation (i.e. the Peloponnesian War) and sees Nemesis as the bringer of punishment to both the Persians and Spartans.

49 These events are discussed in Cawkwell 1996: 98–121.

the hope that she would help them just as she had done against the Persians. This involved the enhancement of her cult by reorganizing her annual festival to include ephebes, because they were entrusted with the defense of the countryside during their military service and would have the task of confronting the Macedonians in Attica when they had left the ephebeia and joined their older compatriots ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42. 3–5).

For the ephebes, the high point of the Nemesia would have been the celebration of Nemesis' retribution against the Persians at Marathon (cf. Paus. 1. 33. 2–3), if we are right to assume that the festival emphasized important aspects of her cult. This was perhaps the only occasion where they collectively commemorated Athens' greatest and most famous victory, since they do not seem to have taken part in the sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera and attended the Epitaphia until the Hellenistic period.⁵⁰ At a time when the city could claim no military success against Macedon, the glorification of Athenian martial prowess, where the *Marathonomachoi* fought alone on behalf of Greece and defeated the Persians, would have increased the ephebes' morale and confirmed Lycurgus' assertion that the *polis* was "an example of noble deeds for the Greeks . . . our ancestors surpassed other men in courage" (*Leoc.* 83).⁵¹ But the ephebes would have also recognized that Nemesis' intervention on Athens' side was as crucial for the victory as the courage of the *Marathonomachoi* themselves. Although ephebes are not praised on fourth-century inscriptions for their piety as in the Hellenistic corpus (e.g. *IG* II² 900 [185/4 BCE], line 7: εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς θεοῦς), the Athenians would have regarded their possession of this cardinal virtue as indispensable for the continuing prosperity of Athens (e.g. Lyc. *Leoc.* 15, 25–6, 146).⁵² By demonstrating their pious devotion to this proven divine defender of Athens, the ephebes would have gained confidence that her assistance would be forthcoming so that they too would be able to drive the Macedonians out of Attica should they be foolish enough to invade.

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50 For ephebic participation in these festivals, see Pélékidis 1962: 219–20, 235–6.

51 Marathon in the funeral oration and other literature is discussed in Loraux 1986: 155–71.

52 For *eusebeia* as a cardinal virtue, see Whitehead 1993: 70.

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Women Members of a Gymnasium in the Roman East (*IG IV 732*)

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The foci of Classical and Hellenistic education and culture, the gymnasium and the wrestling ground (*palaestra*), are not places one expects to find respectable women, except in Sparta.¹ The present discussion, which is part of a larger project that examines female athletics and education of the early imperial period in the Greek East, draws attention to some overlooked epigraphic evidence for female membership in athletic venues and reevaluates the social context of an inscription found at Hermione in the Argolid (*IG IV 732*). The list of names inscribed on *IG IV 732* is identified here as a membership list of both women and men associated with *gymnasia* rather than a list of initiates or priests and priestesses of Demeter, as was previously proposed. The new identification is based on a study of the personal name “Gymnasion” in the Greek epigraphic record as well as on *comparanda* found in two other inscriptions (*IG VII 1777* and Segre 1993: no. ED 228) that feature feminine names in the contexts of athletic venues.

What were initially reported by Pouqueville in 1827 as two separate inscriptions (his Nos. 1 and 2) from Hermione in the Argolid were published by Boeckh in 1828 as one text, *CIG* 1211, on the testimony of drawings by Fourmont.² In 1879, the inscription was restudied on the basis of autopsy by Jules Martha inside the chapel of St. Nicholas at Hermione, where it had been used as a flagstone and had suffered extensive water damage.³ According to Martha the stone preserved only columns two through five, the first two lines had been

1 I would like to thank a number of individuals and organizations that made this study possible: the ephor at Nauplio Alkistis Papademetriou, the ephor at Thebes Vasilis Aravantinos, the ephor at Rhodes Melina Philemonos and the epimelete at Kos Dimitris Bosnakis; the staff of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for their hospitality and Maria Pilali, in particular, for securing the permissions; Illinois State University for funding; Joseph Day for reading and commenting on an early version of this discussion; Aileen Ajootian, Nancy Bookidis, Lee L. Brice, Nigel Kennell, Sarah B. Pomeroy, Molly Richardson, and Andrew Stewart for lively conversations about epigraphy and women.

2 Pouqueville 1827: 258–59.

3 Martha 1879: 79–82.

nearly effaced, and parts of lines 3, 4, and 31 that had been previously recorded were now missing. The edition published as *IG* IV 732 in 1902 by Max Fraenkel incorporates many of Martha's readings.

A Roman imperial date for *IG* IV 732 is supported by letter forms and onomastic data. The letter forms of the inscription are consistent with an imperial date, possibly of the mid-first to the mid-second century CE: notably the rectangular *sigma* Σ (i.e., col. 2, LL. 9, 20, 21, 30; col. 3, LL. 17, 18, 22, 27; col. 4, L. 13; col. 5, L. 8), the *omega* Ω with rounded apexes (notably at col. 4, LL. 5, 7, 8), a cursive *omega* ω (col. 1, L. 16), a triangular *psi* Ψ (col. 4, L. 16), and a splayed *nu* N (col. 4, L. 8).

Furthermore, a Roman date was supported by Boeckh, who proposed reading ΑΙ. Κλεοκράτης (in *CIG* 1211, L. 25), but the reading was rejected by Martha, who argued that the letters ΑΙ could belong to the name that appears on the preceding line (ΥΑΜΑΘΑΟΜΙΑΙ in Martha's facsimile).⁴ Without comment in *IG* IV 732, Fraenkel presented the names beginning in col. 4, L. 16 as Ψαμάθα 'Ομιλί[ας] Κλεοκρατῖνο[ς].⁵ The final *omicron* of Κλεοκρατῖνο[ς] is not visible on the *IG* IV facsimile, but the left half of a curving circle is printed in that position in Martha's facsimile. The last letter of the name could be either a *sigma* for the nominative or an *upsilon* for the genitive form of the name Cleocratinos. According to the *IG* IV facsimile, the left diagonal of a possible *alpha* was preserved at line end (i.e., Ομιλία),⁶ and according to Fraenkel's comments at the beginning of the entry, the right margin was also preserved. It appears, on the facsimile, there would be room for at most one letter space to the right of the *alpha* of Ομιλία. If the name were to continue onto the next line, as Martha proposed, the name would have looked something like this: Ομιλία[.]|ΑΙ. The patronymic 'Ομιλιάδα (FD III 3 220; *IG* IX 1 227–230) and the metronymic 'Ομιλιάδας (*SGDI* 2 1795) would be possible here, but would leave unexplained the *iota* in ΑΙ. Although 'Ομιλιάδαι is possible here, the text otherwise contains no dative (more usual in dedicatory inscriptions) and, if one is to consider the word as a family name, this would be the only example of a nominative plural preserved in the text where, in contrast, the Heraclidae are inscribed individually

4 Martha 1879: 80–81.

5 The closing brackets here are my addition and were not used by Fraenkel for this inscription. In my excerpts of Fraenkel's minuscule text, I omit his indications of line ends, which he seems to use inconsistently, sometimes to indicate the end of a personal name.

6 Letters that contain a diagonal stroke descending from right to left at the left side of the letter space include *alpha*, *delta*, *lambda*, splayed *mu*, and splayed *nu* (as in col. 4, L. 12). Only *alpha* appears to be possible in Greek following ΟΜΙΑΙ (cf. *IG* II² 8756, 9825; IX 1 227, 229, 230; XII 1 493; XII 5 186; FD III 3 220; *SGDI* 2 1795).

(IG IV 732, col. 2, LL. 26–30). Therefore, even if Ομιλια[.]AI preserves a *hapax* name among the several that appear on this inscription (such as Ἀγαπατίδος [col. 3, L. 14 and L. 16], Ἰσ[ε]ιάς [col. 3, L. 18], Μεγάλλας [col. 3, L. 20], Σωσαρέτα [col. 4, L. 5], Σωτιδῶ [col. 4, L. 7], Ψαμάθα [col. 4, L. 16]), Boeckh's interpretation of AI as Aī. is sound (Aī. is also viable). Aelius or Aelia, here abbreviated, would be used as a personal name (cf. SEG 51. 776).⁷ In addition, possible confirmation of a Roman date might be provided at col. 4 Νουμήνι (a form of Numinus; see emendations on page 6, n. 22).

The inscription, on marble, measures 1.05 m in height and 0.82 m in width. The top left corner is broken away. IG IV 732 consists of five disordered columns of text. The fragment containing the first column, which had already been separated from the rest of the stone when Pouqueville recorded the inscription and is now lost, is portrayed in the IG IV facsimile as spatially belonging at the upper left of the inscription; it is possible, however, that the fragment came from the middle left or bottom left. In several places, text in adjacent columns converges (col. 2, LL. 1–2, 9, 25–31; col. 3, LL. 13–28; col. 4, LL. 5–6, 8–17). Martha describes the letters of the inscription as badly formed, of differing dimensions, and close together.⁸ At least once, text descends from the horizontal (col. 3, L. 22), as if to take advantage of adjacent space to complete a name. The names are so irregularly organized and are so numerous that it is difficult sometimes to decide exactly which patronymic or metronymic is to be linked with a particular personal name.

Out the 134 words or parts of words that appear on the facsimile of IG IV 732, a quarter of the names are feminine, two quarters are masculine, and the rest are of uncertain gender.⁹ This last category of names includes:

- 1) names that can be either feminine or masculine but cannot be securely identified as one or the other in the present context (e.g., Ἀριστόλας [col. 1, L. 11], Δωρίς [col. 2, L. 24])
- 2) names that are *hapax legomena* and because of their context cannot be identified as masculine or feminine (e.g., Ἀγαπατίδος [col. 3, LL. 14 and 16], Ἰσ[ε]ιάς [col. 3, L. 18], Μεγάλλας [col. 3, L. 20], Ψαμάθα [col. 4, L. 16])
- 3) some fragmentary or abbreviated words (e.g., col. 2, L. 26 and col. 3, L. 23, AI [col. 4, L. 17], Φιλίππα . . . νας [col. 5, LL. 5–6])

7 Aelius or Aelia rare before Hadrian, but cf. Meritt 1931: no. 14, L. 3 (L. Aelius Lamias, 3 CE) and Segre 1944–1945 [1952]: no. 202, L. 1 (Aelius Sabineianus, 14–54 CE).

8 Martha 1879: 80.

9 This count includes some duplicates.

- 4) names whose endings have been restored by the editors as necessarily masculine, when other options are feasible (e.g., Ἀριστοκλέ[ος] [col. 1, L. 17] when Ἀριστοκλέ[ας] is also possible.

Usually, in this list the name of an individual is provided in the nominative case and is followed by the name of the father or mother in the genitive.¹⁰ Of those pairings, 10 include metronymics, 41 patronymics and 10 of the genitives are of undetermined type. Although less frequent than patronymics, metronymics are attested throughout the Greek mainland, islands, and beyond; for example, in Attica, Phocis, Locris, Acarnania, Thessaly, Macedonia, Euboea, Amorgos, Naxos, Paros, Thasos, Crete, Cyprus, and Cyrene.¹¹

Particular attention will be given here and below to col. 3, L. 1 Γυμνάσιον. An earlier occurrence of this personal name was restored by Boeckh ([Γυμ]νάσιον, *CIG* 1211, L. 27) and was retained by Fraenkel in *IG* IV 732, col. 2, L. 26. Pouqueville recorded ΜΑΣΙΟΝΗ and Martha's drawing preserves ΝΑΣΙΩΝ, which he restores as [Μ]ΝΑΣΙΩΝ.¹² If we are to accept Boeckh's and Fraenkel's transcriptions, Παρνάσιον and Ὀνάσιον are also candidates for possible restoration in *IG* IV 732, col. 2, L. 26.¹³ I, therefore, print col. 2, L. 26 [- - -]νασιον.

Γυμνάσιον in col. 3, L. 1 is placed at the top of the third column and is followed by two genitives in LL. 2–3: Γυμνάσιον Κλειτ[α]γόρου Δαμοκλέας. If Γυμνάσιον is here a personal name, we would expect it to be in the nominative case, followed by the patronymic (Κλειτ[α]γόρου) and a metronymic (Δαμοκλέας).¹⁴ Δαμοκλέα, then, would be the mother of Κλειταγόρας and grandmother of Γυμνάσιον. Such was the interpretation proposed by Fraenkel in his comments

10 There are a few cases where no patronymic or metronymic is provided (e.g., col. 4, LL. 12–15).

11 Tataki 1993: 1455–56 with bibliography. Tataki argues that metronymics in Macedonia of the Roman period are due to the *lex Minicia* according to which the children of a Roman citizen and a peregrine woman without matrimonial rights (*conubium*) acquired the legal status of the parent in the inferior position (1460). These individuals need not be slaves or freedmen as it is usually assumed, but could be members of the leading class, according to Davaras and Masson 1983: 397.

12 Pouqueville 1827: 259; Martha 1879: 82. Both Μνάσιων and Ὀνάσιων are possible here and are attested in the area around Epidaurus (e.g., *IG* IV² 1 28 and 71).

13 Παρνάσιον (Kent 1966: no. 502; *SGDI* 2 2163). Although unattested in the Peloponnese Ὀνάσιον appears on inscriptions from Central Greece (e.g., *FD* III 3 206), the Aegean islands (e.g., *IDélos* 1963; Segre 1944–1945 [1952]: no. 88), and elsewhere.

14 The name Δαμοκλέα is attested epigraphically on two additional lists of names from Hermione identified by Boeckh, together with the present text, as a list of initiates and priests of Demeter: <Z>ωπυρεΐνα Δαμοκλέας (*IG* IV 730, col. 4, L. 2), Σωτηρίων Δαμοκλέας (*IG* IV 731, col. 2, L. 4).

to *IG* IV 732.¹⁵ This onomastic combination (i.e., name of the individual + the name of his or her father + the name of his or her grandmother) is not only unparalleled in this inscription but, to my knowledge, unattested. Olivier Masson considered the personal name Γυμνάσιον to be feminine, citing *IG* II² 11030 and 8902a.¹⁶ The personal masculine name Γυμνάσιος is attested twice (*IG* II² 2245 and Laminger-Pascher 1992: no. 313).¹⁷ I propose that Γυμνάσιον here denotes a building and not a name, as it has been previously maintained. In this case Κλειταγόρου is the possessive genitive (the gymnasium of Cleitagoras) and Δαμοκλέας is Cleitagoras' metronymic. As such, the onomastic pattern follows other typical metronymic examples on *IG* IV 732.

In light of the alternate readings considered above, I propose the following emendations to the text of *IG* IV 732:¹⁸

col. 1

L. 15 Σαμβατεῖς (Σαμβατε[ύ]ς?, *IG*). The *IG* IV facsimile shows a vertical; cf. *IG* II² 7931, LL. 1 (Σαμβατεῖς). Σαμβατεύς is epigraphically unattested. Probably a feminine name.

L. 17 Ἀριστοκλέ[- -] (Ἀριστοκλέ[ος], *IG*). Masculine or a feminine name.

col. 2

L. 26 [- - -]νασιον Ἡρακλίδα ([Γυμ]νάσιον Ἡρακλίδα, *IG*). E.g., Παρνάσιον, Ὀνάσιον.

L. 28 [- - -]λαῖος Ἡρακλίδα ([Ὶ]λαῖος Ἡρακλίδα, *IG*). E.g., Φιλαῖος, Λιλαῖος, Ἰλαῖος.¹⁹

15 In Fraenkel's words: "Col. III vs. 3 Δαμοκλέας: indicata est Gymnasii avia, quia initiata erat; item col. III vs. 26 avus Xenon."

16 Masson 1989: 47. The only other occurrence of the personal name Γυμνάσιον known to me is reportedly preserved on an unpublished Hellenistic funerary stele in the Archaeological Museum of Volos (*LGPV* 4 s.v. Γυμνάσιον = Tataki 1998: 153, no. 30). The state of preservation of the stone and its context are unreported.

17 In addition, *SEG* 44. 911 preserves the name Γυμνάσιον or Γυμνάσιος in the genitive case. For attestations in Latin, see Solin 1982: 1164–1165. Again, although Gymnasio, Gymnasius, and Gymnasianus are attested in Latin, the "names" Gymnasion or Gymnasium are not.

18 I visited the chapel of St. Nicholas at Hermione in June 2010, but I was unable to study the inscriptions at that time. I have used Fraenkel's facsimile and minuscule text in the *IG* IV for this discussion. I do not, here, include editorial revisions of epigraphical *sigla* alone.

19 Φιλαῖος (cf. *IG* II 2 2370, L. 6; 3103, face B.8, L. 11; *FD* III 2 11, L. 11), Λιλαῖος (cf. *FD* III 3 42, LL. 2), Ἰλαῖος (cf. *SGDI* II 2084, L. 11).

col. 4

- L. 14 Ζωπυρο[-] (Ζώπυρο[ς], *IG*). Ζωπύρο[υ] also possible.
 L. 16 Ψαμάθα Ὀμιλία[ς] (Ψαμάθα Ὀμιλί[ας], *IG*). See discussion above.
 L. 17 Αἰ(λίου) or Αἰ(λία) Κλεοκρατινο[-] (Κλεοκρατῖνο[ς], *IG*). See discussion above.

Following the entry in *IG* IV 732, col. 4, L. 17, Fraenkel omits from the minuscule text the readings recorded in the *IG* IV 732 facsimile. I read the text of these lines of col. 4 as follows:

col. 4

- L. 18 Δαμοκρατίς
 L. 19 Νικῶ Καλλιππι.[- - -]²⁰
 L. 21 Ὀνασικρατίς Ἀγλῶων²¹
 L. 22 *vacat* Νουμήνι²²
 L. 23 Ἄτταλος Σώφρονος
 L. 24 Ἀφροδίσιος Σωσίδα
 L. 25 Κέρδων Σωδάμου
 vacat

It had been suggested by Boeckh and subsequent editors that *IG* IV 732 is a list of initiates or priests of Demeter and the name of the parent who initiated them. According to Pausanias, there were a number of temples to Demeter in Hermione and the surrounding area (2. 34.6–12). None of these temples have been excavated yet. Evidence about the different cults of Demeter and of the other gods as well as about the festivals and contests associated with them in the area comes primarily from Pausanias and from the few inscriptions that

20 Following the second *iota* of Καλλιππι, the diagonals of *alpha*, *delta*, or *lambda* are visible. Both Καλλιπίδου (cf. Segre, 1993: no. ED 150, LL. C.1, a.11 [Cos]; *SEG* 20.174, L. 8 [unspecified region]) Καλλιπιανού (cf. Bérard 1892: 432, no. 63, L. 2 [Pisidia]) are viable.

21 The line number is provided on the facsimile. For the second and third *alpha* only the diagonals are visible.

22 According to *IG* facsimile, there is no room on the stone to add three letters [ίου] as per Martha 1879: 82. If there were room to add one letter, it would have to be very small and very thin to fit in the space. I suggest either a nominative with the addition of a thin lunate or rectangular *sigma* (Νουμηνίς or Νουμήνις, cf. *IG* II² 10289, L. 1; 12330, L. 1; *IG* IV 153, L. 1; 3275, L. 3; 4229, L. 1) or to let the letters stand as they are on the facsimile, in which case Νουμήνι would be a Hellenized genitive for the Latin name Numinus, -ii.

have survived. The conclusion that the word Γυμνάσιον on IG IV 732 indicates an edifice rather than a personal name places the inscription in a different social context from that which was previously supported. If col. 3, L. 1 Γυμνάσιον denotes a building (i.e., the gymnasium of Κλειταγόρας, son of Δαμοκλέα) rather than a personal name, there are no known *gymnasia* associated with the cult of Demeter in the Greek world. In fact, a different cult should be considered here, possibly that of Dionysus. Like Γυμνάσιον, the word in col. 2, L. 1 Δ[ιον]υσία is the first word of its column, col. 3. It, too, has been assumed to be a personal name by the previous editors. It is possible, however, that Δ[ION]ΥΣΙΑ here might not indicate a feminine name but a festival in honor of Dionysus organized and paid for by Cleomedes. In the second century CE, the people of Hermione organized an annual festival to honor Dionysus *Melanoegidos* (dressed in black goatskin) with competitions and prizes in music, swimming, and sailing (Paus. 34.11–35.1). In all likelihood, members of the local *gymnasia*, including that of Cleitagoras in IG IV 732, participated in these competitions.²³

Although Riet van Bremen and Onno van Nijf have dismissed women's activities associated with *gymnasia* in the Hellenistic and Roman periods as secondary (i.e., as heiresses who took over the family estate and political and financial burdens, not because of their wealth and elite position in their societies, but because of the lack of male heirs in their families), J. Rowlandson described girls' registration with the gymnasium officials in third century CE Egypt "as a way of situating proper young women in the hellenised social and intellectual milieu."²⁴ But it is not only in Hellenistic Egypt that one finds young women as members of *gymnasia*. In fact, at least two other inscriptions from the Greek East of the early imperial period have survived that attest the membership of women in athletic venues. IG VII 1777 and Segre 1993: no. ED 228 each includes the name of one woman in their long lists of masculine names enrolled in an athletic venue and commemorated by the local magistrates. M. Ismenodora appears on IG VII 1777 among those in the upper gymnasium (τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄνω γυμνασίῳ, L. 5) at Roman Thespieae, while Heteraia Procilla, daughter of Gaius, is among those who entered, presumably as members, the wrestling ground (οἶδε εἰσῆλθον ἐς τὰν πρεσβυτικὰν παλαίστραν, LL. 1–2) on

23 One should consider whether the other inscriptions associated with IG IV 732 (i.e., 728, 730–735) are lists of women and men members of local *gymnasia* who participated or were victorious in the same festival.

24 Van Bremen 1996; van Nijf 2004: 208 n. 17; Rowlandson 1998: 303 and 304 n. 5: two registrations of girls are known from Oxyrhynchus, *P. Corn.* 118 (291 CE) and *P. Oxy.* 43. 3136 (292 CE).

Roman Cos.²⁵ In both cases, the inscriber intentionally places the names of these women in a distinctive position (M. Ismenodora is placed on the same line as the end of the superscript of *IG VII 1777*, L. 5 and Hetereia Procilla's name is situated at the very end of Segre 1993: no. ED 228, L. 36), indicating their special membership status in these athletic venues and, possibly in the case of M. Ismenodora, her financial contribution to the carving of the stone as well. The upper gymnasium at Thespieae appears to be one that enlisted people from different socio-economic levels in the community. Membership in the upper gymnasium at Thespieae was probably inherited, unless a special invitation was issued, as in the case of Athenaios Eumarronos (*IG VII 1777*, L. 35), who was invited (*παράκληθίς*) to enter the gymnasium. The *palaestra* at Cos, on the other hand, appears to be one that enlisted young men and a woman in the final stages of their education (*πρεσβυτικὴν παλαίστραν*).

Epigraphic evidence is supplemented by literary sources that discuss, for example, the education of Spartan women in the Roman period.²⁶ In respect to Spartan female training and education, Propertius (3.14) mentions nude co-ed wrestling, ball playing, hoop rolling, pancration, discus throwing, hunting, chariot driving, and wearing armor. In his description of the female education system of Sparta, Plutarch (*Lyc.* 14.2), whom we should read as a primary source for his own (i.e., Roman) period rather than for "Lycurgan Sparta", includes running, wrestling, discus and javelin throwing. Furthermore, in the days of the emperor Nero, a young Spartan woman engaged in a wrestling match at Rome with a Roman senator, M. Palfurius Sura, according to Juvenal's scholiast (4.53).²⁷ Although Spartans, both women and men, have been considered exceptional, it is clear that they were not unique in the Greek world. Athenaeus, another second century CE literary source, implies that the young Chian women competed in co-ed footraces and clearly states that they wrestled with the young men in the *gymnasía* and running tracks (*dromoi*) of the island (13.566e). Not only Spartan women, then, but Chian and Coan women

25 *IG VII 1777* was re-edited and presented at the 2005 APA/AIA meetings in Boston. There, I argued for an *ante quem* date of 14 CE and for the identification of M. Ismenodora in L. 5 as a feminine name (*contra* Müller 1996 and Roesch 2007–2009: Fasc. IV, no. 136). The new edition and a commentary are currently under preparation for publication.

26 See also Pomeroy 2002 and Neils 2012. I would like to thank Jenifer Neils for sending me her article well before its publication.

27 Crowther 2010: 197 dismisses this evidence: "We can probably discount this isolated and improbable reference to the Roman aristocracy, which does not necessarily refer to the Neronia held in Rome in A.D. 60 and 64."

according to these later sources were associated with their local areas of training, the gymnasium and the *palaestra*.

The evidence is scanty; one would expect to find more inscriptions that include feminine names associated with the *gymnasia* and *palaestrae* of the Imperial East than the three mentioned above.²⁸ Such an expectation, however, presupposes that young women had a similar life and demands placed on them as on their male counterparts and that they would be commemorated in the similar ways and at similar frequencies as young men. It is evident that that was not the case. A young elite woman was expected to marry at a very young age, usually in her early or mid-teens, and most of these women would never have had the opportunity to have an education similar to that of young men, although some did. Pliny, for example, praises his wife for her education and interests in literature, law, rhetoric, and music (*Ep.* 4.19), while Plutarch alludes to the education of young Eurydice and Polyaeus in philosophy (*Mor.* 137C). Such learning made Eurydice and Calpurnia capable and worthy partners of talented and successful men. Ideally, a young woman's education was expected to be completed by her husband.²⁹ Young women of lower status, however, would not have had the same opportunities as senatorial and elite women to continue their education in a gymnasium; financial circumstances would have precluded such an extensive schooling. Education in the gymnasium, therefore, was by default a civic education for the privileged elite, and the course of studies was of athletic, military, intellectual, musical, religious, and political nature. The "curriculum" aimed at creating good citizens (both male and female); but, depending on the needs of the *polis* in a particular period, the definition of "good citizen" for males and females differed. More specifically, in the early imperial period, the gymnasium was the place from which the administrative class of the cities emerged; young elite men were required to become soldiers, benefactors, and magistrates, while young elite women were expected to become mothers and wives of intellectual and political men, and on occasion, because of their economic power, they would also serve their cities as benefactors and magistrates. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, we find women holding important priesthoods and even political offices.³⁰ These

28 For a more comprehensive summary of female participation in athletics and related offices in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Mantas 1995: 125–44.

29 Plutarch advises a husband, for example, to share what he learns in philosophy, to discuss it with his wife and to make the best arguments her friends and familiars. And he goes on: "It is as honorable to hear a wife say: 'Husband, you are my guide and philosopher, my teacher of the noblest and most divine lessons'" (*Mor.* 145B–C).

30 Mantas 1997: 81–95.

women needed to have an education in par with that of their male counterparts, and we find the names of some elite women, such as Marcia Ismenodora and Hetereia Procilla, associated with their local areas of learning.

In conjunction with the literary sources, the epigraphic record shows that women were members of *gymnasia* – although it appears that their participation and, even, victories in athletic events did not receive the attention that the male competitions did.³¹ It is possible, as Scanlon has noted, that the source material regarding female athletics is sparse because “it has relied upon men for transmission, which probably explains the paucity of evidence, since women’s sports were both uninteresting and unimportant to men.”³² It should not be surprising, then, that fewer feminine names are attested in the epigraphic record and associated with athletic venues, even in the Roman period.

There is likely more evidence ignored because of our own limitations as scholars of the ancient world, that could provide information about women’s membership at athletic venues. Identifying the problems associated with such study is the first step toward recovering what has been lost and toward engaging with future finds. Here I will comment on two main issues associated with the study of women in the context of the epigraphic evidence. First, although attention to the growing onomastic lists, headed by the publication of the first volume of *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (*LGPN*) in 1987, is on the rise, the material still remains of interest primarily to prosopographers and epigraphists, and has not always been studied across disciplines by, say, historians and philologists. The audience is further limited because even recent lists do not always include Roman personal names in the Greek East (as has been done for Greek personal names in Rome), a practice which excludes a rather significant part of Greek history. This exclusion of Roman names is due in part to the fact that one would have to consider issues of geographical origin and to distinguish between provincial Greeks with Roman citizenship and Romans and Italians with “Greek” citizenship, and their descendants, before including such a name in a list. In addition, onomastic lists do not always distinguish between masculine and feminine names, a task considerably complicated by the fact that Greek sometimes uses the same endings for both female and male names. A comprehensive collection and study of feminine names found in the Greek world across all geographic regions and periods is a *desideratum*. An exhaustive collection of all existing feminine names and their contexts would lead to a better understanding of women’s athletics as well as of women’s onomastics, lives, and roles in society.

31 Miller 2004: 152–53.

32 Scanlon 1988: 185.

Second, epigraphists have good reason to be diligent about their own perspectives and biases and to be tuned into the question of how these biases shape both the hypotheses and the evidence. The case of women in *gymnasia* can be used as an archetypical example of what is feasible and what can go terribly wrong. Sometimes a name on an inscription associated with a gymnasium has been identified as masculine, for instance, regardless of whether or not such identification is supported by what is actually inscribed, but simply because masculine names are what one expects to find in that context. Many feminine names have been erroneously read as masculine.³³ Furthermore, based on the supposition that no women would ever be members of *gymnasia*, scholars might categorize an onomastic list associated with an athletic venue as “ephebic.” Such a designation would automatically exclude females. Apart from the sizeable quantity and, often, fragmentary state of these “ephebic” or otherwise-designated onomastic lists, our own gender-specific biases and unchallenged assumptions about women’s athletics make the task of situating women in *gymnasia* and *palaestrae* more difficult.

In conclusion, based on evidence primarily from Athens in the Classical period, scholars of the Graeco-Roman world have ignored the possibility that women could be members of *gymnasia* and *palaestrae*. Although the literary and epigraphic evidence for women’s athletics is meager compared to the material available for male activities, *IG* IV 732, *IG* VII 1777, and Segre 1993: no. ED 228 provide proof that women could be and were members of athletic venues in the Greek East of the early imperial period. In fact, in addition to the inscriptions presented here, the epigraphic record shows that women participated in athletics and were victors in a number of events such as equestrian events, foot-racing, other athletic events including the pyrrhic dance, as well as intellectual and musical events. Like their male counterparts, these competitive women required not only the time and financial independence but also a place to train and practice. These are some of the women we find in the membership lists of *gymnasia* and *palaestrae*.

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33 Many of the essential corrections are due to the great work by O. Masson.

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PART 2

Latin Epigraphy



Documents on Bronze: A Phenomenon of the Roman West?*

Werner Eck

To the memory of my friend
Hartmut Wolff † 4. 2. 2012

Inscriptions were a mass phenomenon in the ancient world and as such their proper assessment can profoundly influence our understanding of the culture and history of the classical world. This observation applies not only to inscriptions written in Greek and Latin but also to texts in other languages long employed in the epigraphic tradition of the Roman Empire. Hence we have inscriptions composed, for example, in Punic, Syriac, Hebrew, Aramaic, or Demotic.¹ How many such documents have been preserved in all languages from the Greco-Roman world cannot be stated with any certainty. Even for the Greek and Latin inscriptions, it is not possible to give a precise number. The Clauss epigraphical database, which is the most extensive of its type in the world today, includes more than 469.000 Latin texts. Of these more than 112.000 are short texts inscribed on ceramics, *instrumentum domesticum*.² Even this collection is not complete, however, since many Latin texts have not been included in larger collections, in epigraphic *corpora*, or in *L'Année Épigraphique*. That is, many inscriptions have been published only in local or regional periodicals and are therefore to many scholars not easily accessible.

Even if such figures allow only an approximate insight into the quantity of surviving inscriptions, they nevertheless show very clearly that inscriptions represent a formidable mass phenomenon; indeed the volume of such

* In the preparation of this contribution, I have made extensive use of the “Datenbank Clauss” and of the Heidelberger Datenbank. I am indebted to Peter Eich for his useful comments and to the participants of the ASGLE Congress in San Antonio, notably Kevin Clinton, John Morgan, and Jim Sickinger; to Linda Gaus for the translation, to John Nicols, who did much to polish it, and not least to John Bodel.

1 See now the first volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* (= CIIP), Vol. 1 1, Berlin 2010, Vol. 11, Berlin 2011, Vol. 1 2, Berlin 2012, Vol. 111, Berlin 2014.

2 See: <http://www.manfredclauss.de/> (seen 21 August 2014).

texts for specific questions can today only be mastered with data processing. Admittedly, with such large quantities of data, a certain caution is required. The number of these documents easily inspires the impression that one could approach very directly the reality to which they once belonged; in other words the large number of documents might be construed to represent accurately the content and the historical context in which the inscriptions were once created.

But is this really the case? Do we really have a representative picture of the former *epigraphic* reality? One may be skeptical, and that skepticism is justified. We must indeed recognize that entire types of once extant inscriptions have been lost and that, of other types, only a few examples have survived. These few items are completely misleading in comparison to the reality that they once represented. A few examples will illustrate this phenomenon.

From many sources we know, for example, that many inscriptions were written on wood, usually on a *tabula albata* or a λεύκωμα.³ In all cities organized according to the Roman model, e.g., an *album* of the names of the local *iudices* had to be published each year – as the word *album* indicates, on a *tabula albata*. The preserved municipal laws of the Iberian Peninsula regulate this process very clearly.⁴ For several hundred communities in the three Spanish provinces, this must have amounted to thousands of *alba* in the course of several centuries. And yet not a single fragment of these has been preserved, which, given the material, is not all that surprising. The thin wooden tablets like the ones used for all kinds of written documents in Vindolanda demonstrate that wood was certainly a common medium for writing, and not just there but in many other places.⁵ Until the discovery of the documents preserved under very special circumstances in Vindolanda, however, we did not have even an inkling of how extensively this medium was employed.⁶ Of the countless *tabulae ceratae*, viewed as a whole, only a very few have survived to be discovered.

Presumably, no other material was used as often for inscriptions as wood. Yet wooden records hardly appear in the surviving record; they represent rather only an extremely small portion of our epigraphic documents. That inscriptions on wood are no longer preserved has not only to do with the fact that wood is an organic material that can only survive under extraordinary conditions but is also owed to the fact that those who prepared such texts probably

3 Eck 1998.

4 *Lex Irnitana* § 85 and 86, which follows the example of the city praetors at *CIL* I 592 = *XI* 1146 = *AE* 1993, 726.

5 In the most recent excavations in Cologne, some of these wooden tablets have been found, but writing has not been preserved; so Hartmut Galsterer has informed me.

6 Cf. <http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/> and Birley 2005.

did not envision that they would enjoy a long life.⁷ They had in mind the everyday use, not the permanent preservation of the information.

Non-organic material necessarily had greater chances to survive. Many of the museums in the countries around the Mediterranean proudly display numerous inscriptions in rooms called *lapidaria* in reference to the material upon which most of the inscriptions were written. Stone in many forms is nearly the only material that has allowed our epigraphic documents to be preserved, and for similar reasons it was also the medium of choice for those who wished to preserve the content of these inscriptions in the public realm: hence, texts written on stone survived on buildings, on altars, under statues, on mausolea, on simple graves, and so on. What was written on stone was meant for the ages, and was supposed keep alive the memory of people, and also of events. Inscriptions on stone do not, however, provide us with much information about daily life.⁸

The intention of permanence was also associated with inscriptions on bronze. Bronze can outlast time just as easily as stone – if people permit it to do so. But ever since ancient times, people have been responsible for its destruction. Bronze is a valuable material. It is easy to melt down, and it can then be used for many other purposes. And old bronze can be precious even today. Many fake antique works of art created in the last decades have been made of old bronze melted down. These facts suggest that relatively few inscriptions on bronze have survived. The transmission of the records of the Augustan secular games may be symptomatic of this phenomenon. According to the decision of the Roman Senate, the records of the *ludi saeculares* were supposed to be written on two *columnae* in Rome in order to preserve for the future the *memoria* of this special event.⁹ One of the *columnae* was supposed to be *ahenea*, the other one *marmorea*. It is no accident that parts of

7 This is naturally not to claim that inscriptions were never produced in wood and intended for longer use; cf. Meyer 2004: 35. This observation is only relevant in the cases when the characters were cut into the wood so that they would look like inscriptions cut into stone; it does not apply to *tabulae albatae*, the mass of inscriptions that were publicly visible on wood. That such inscriptions, if they were deposited in an archive, might have a long life is self-evident. In such cases, however, these texts were not open to public inspection. The same applies also to the accounts that were sometimes preserved on bronze and deposited in an archive, e.g. SEG 54, 427.

8 Formulated more sharply, one may argue that “everyday life” is hardly present in our epigraphical sources, nor should we expect to find it.

9 CIL VI 877 = 32323 = 32324 = AE 2002, 192: *quod G(aius) Silanus co(n)s(ul) v(erba) f(ecit) pe[r]ti- nere ad conservandam memoriam tantae r[eligionis] - - commentarium ludorum] saecularium in colum[n]am aheneam et marmoream inscribi st[-] eo loco ubi ludi futuri [s]int q[ui]d d(e)*

the *columna marmorea* have been preserved, whereas the *columna aenea* has gone the way of most bronze inscriptions: namely, it was destroyed, probably melted down. Of the two *pila aenea* on which the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* could be read in front of the mausoleum of the first Princeps in Rome, not a single fragment has been found.¹⁰ Only the embedded traces of the two *pila* can still be seen in front of the *mausoleum Augusti* today. Three examples of the Augustan *res gestae*, engraved in stone in three cities of the province of Galatia, survive in fragments.¹¹ In Narbo, in the *provincia Narbonensis*, the will of a certain Sex. Fadius Secundus Musa (expressed in an *epistula*) was engraved on the left side of a statue base that was erected by the *collegium fabrum*; however, Fadius Secundus also requested the presentation of his *voluntas, insculpta* on an *aerea tabula . . . ante aedem*. The marble base has survived to date, but not the bronze tablet (*CIL* XII 4393 = *ILS* 7259 = *AE* 1992, 1225).

But we should not forget that the massive destruction of documents on bronze, in contrast to inscriptions on stone, does not just affect individual monuments with extremely varied content, but sometimes whole categories of inscriptions. One example may suffice: consider the imperial constitutions about Roman citizenship for soldiers of the Roman army, for *praetoriani*, *urbanici*, *equites singulares*, the fleets in Italy, and especially the auxiliary troops in the provinces. We do indeed have more than 1.000 individual military diplomas. All these diplomas are copies of the respective imperial constitutions: the originals were initially published in Rome on the Capitol Hill, and, following the redesign of the Capitol under Domitian, always *in muro post templum divi Augusti ad Minervam*.¹² According to a conservative calculation such constitutions were issued regularly for more than two hundred years; so too were more than 5.000 larger and smaller *tabulae aeneae* with the privileging texts and the names of all the new citizens.¹³ Of this enormous mass of bronze documents not a single small piece has been found in Rome – nothing at all. Four small

e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(lacuerit) d(e) e(a) r(e) i(ta) c(ensuerunt) uti co(n)s(ul) a(lter) a(mbo)ve ad f(uturam) memoriam tantae religionis columnam] aheneam et alteram marmoream in quibus commentari[um ludorum inscriptum sit eo loco ubi ludi futuri sint] locent praetoribusque q(ui) [a(erario)] p(raesunt) inperent uti redemptoribus ea[m pecuniam dandam adtribuendam curent].

10 *Rerum gestarum divi Augusti quibus orbem terra[rum] imperio populi Rom[ani] subiecit et impensarum quas in rem publicam populumque Ro[ma]num fecit incisarum in duabus aheneis pilis quae su[n]t Romae positae exemplar . . .*

11 Most recently: Scheid 2007 and Mitchell – French 2012: no. 1.

12 See the most recent list of places in *RMD* IV p. 617; cf. Eck 2010b: 41–43.

13 Eck 2008.

excerpts from such *tabulae* have come down to us, because in the third century people in Rome reused the larger tablets cut into smaller pieces to provide diplomas for veterans, and these items survived outside of Rome in the provinces.¹⁴ This re-use shows that the original tablets in Rome disappeared in Roman times, and not just in the allegedly dark Middle Ages.

The chances for inscriptions on bronze to survive were thus extremely poor; whenever they were found, they were usually melted down. The troves of old metal found throughout the empire further suggest that even in the Roman period, bronze was collected for the purpose of reuse. Such troves are known, for example, from Rome itself, from Andalusia near Irni, where the *lex Imitana* and one copy of the *s. c. de Cn. Pisone patre* were found in the same trove, from Lauriacum in Noricum, and from Nijmegen in the province Germania Inferior.¹⁵ Occasionally, too, we find bronze inscriptions that have already been partially melted down; that is, they only escaped the final melting process by accident.¹⁶ If one takes all of this into consideration, then it becomes clear that only an extremely small portion of all once-extant inscriptions on bronze have survived to date.

The low percentage of surviving military diplomas, small bronze tablets that were handed out to the soldiers, hints at the magnitude of the loss. If our estimates are correct, the survival rate of diplomas lies between 0.3 and approximately 1 percent.¹⁷ Bear in mind also that these documents were of a private nature and, though important to the “owners”, were not displayed in public and were therefore less accessible to those who wanted to re-use them as metal. Only when the owner ceased to assign “value” to them could they be re-used. The situation was different for bronze tablets, such as those that were publicly visible in Rome by the thousands on the Capitol and in other places, fixed on walls of sanctuaries, honorary arches, the *aerarium militare*, and *tribunalia*, and

14 *CIL* XVI 147, 153; Weiß 2000: 283; Eck – MacDonald – Pangerl 2002; cf. *RMD* V 464, 465.

15 Rome: *CIL* VI 3828 = 31692 = *ILS* 6105 is such a case; also VI 31693a-k; cf. *CIL* VI, VIII 3, pp. 4766 and 4775–76 (Alföldy). Andalusia: note the short and not particularly informative indications in the respective publications of the *lex* and the *senatus consultum*. Lauriacum and Nijmegen: Eck – Veen 2010.

16 See, for example, Eck – Lieb 1992; Eck – Pangerl 2006, first diploma; Eck – Veen 2010. John Nicols informs me that it is possible to heat bronze tablets to the point where the surface becomes soft enough to “restore” a clean surface on which a new text might be engraved. Actual examples of such re-surfaced *tabulae aeneae*, where the remains of the original text seem identifiable, are not known to me. That the back sides of bronze tablets were inscribed with other texts is well known, e.g., *CIL* II²/7, 187 and 188.

17 Eck 2003; Eck – Pangerl 2008.

on the back sides of the bases of large statues.¹⁸ The same applies to Baetica, where the *s.c. de Cn. Pisone patre* was exhibited in nearly every city in the province.¹⁹ This applies still more to the municipal laws of the Baetican communities, for which, in general, eight to ten large tablets were required.²⁰ The Museo Archeologico in Seville provides a clear impression of how the long rows of *tabulae aeneae* must have looked in Roman times in most municipal centers in the province on the long walls of porticos or the walls of other public buildings. In Troesmis during the last years of Marcus Aurelius, the municipal law for the newly-founded *municipium* was presented to the citizens on perhaps 100 bronze tablets that were each approximately 60 to 67 cm. high and around 50 cm. wide.²¹ A long wall, perhaps in a portico, must have been plastered full of these. All of these documents lost their significance with time, especially when the autonomy of individual communities became increasingly less significant. Here it is tempting to think that the valuable metal might have been used more sensibly in another way: when the military threat from outside increased the need for metal weapons of all kinds and the productivity of the mines was concurrently in decline, the demands of the armies for equipment could only be met by melting down and reusing all available metals, including public and private documents. In the end, enemies who conquered a city took all the metal in order to re-use it. On the Rhine, at Neupotz and Hagenbach in southern Germany, several wagonloads of metal objects were found, in total more than 700 kg., which had been accumulated by plundering Germans during their raids in Gaul. In this case especially the metal came from buildings and *villae rusticae* outside the urban centers.²² The same fate also befell monumental inscriptions whose letters were cast or cut of bronze. Their letters were torn off and the metal re-used, and only the embedded traces of the bronze letters, as for example on the Arch of Titus, or sometimes only the dowels on the surfaces that once bore the inscription, have been preserved. Noteworthy examples are the building inscription for the Flavian amphithe-

18 See the notation about the place of publication for diplomas up to 88 AD, mentioned above at n. 12.

19 Eck – Caballos – Fernández 1996: 279–87.

20 See the collection of municipal charters from Baetica in Caballos 2009: 147–57; also Tomlin 2002; Stylow – López Melero 2014.

21 One can reckon with this number of tablets for the Troesman law, if the number of chapters was similar to that of the Flavian municipal law for Spain. On the two surviving tablets from Troesmis two and a half chapters are preserved. The text was presented at the Fourteenth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Berlin in August 2012; cf. also Eck: 2013.

22 Bernhard – Petrovsky 2006; Petrovsky 2009.

ater in Rome or a stone tablet robbed of its letters, which was discovered in the city of Scythopolis in Palestine.²³ As one reflects on this pattern, it becomes clear that inscriptions on bronze that were visible to the public in this manner were much more endangered than the privately held diplomas and were also much more likely to be destroyed. Moreover, this means that among the publicly visible inscriptions, only a fragment of the percentage that is known of the diplomas has survived until today – a very minimal legacy of what was once reality.

This transmission situation is analogous to that of statues in marble and bronze. An example may clarify this point. At Caesarea Maritima, at least fifty to sixty inscriptions have been preserved whole or in fragments, which were once associated with a visual depiction of individuals – under the statues of emperors, governors, procurators, and other people honored by the cities, and even under the statues of freedmen.²⁴ More or less complete marble statues have also been preserved, admittedly, which is crucial for understanding the following conclusion: except for a single portrait of one emperor, these are almost all idealized sculptures.²⁵ In my opinion, the discrepancy between idealized statues and statues of living people can only be explained by the fact that most of the statues honoring real individuals were made of bronze. At Caesarea, at least, almost all of these have disappeared completely.

How many inscriptions on bronze have survived to date cannot be determined with the means currently available to us. In the inventory of the Heidelberg Epigraphic Database, the material on which each inscription is written is specified; this was not done systematically, however, in the early days of the database. Hence, despite the current inventory of about 65,000 inscriptions, it is not possible to determine representative percentages.²⁶ When one searches for inscriptions on bronze, 539 numbers come up, of which around 190 are military diplomas. That number, however, also includes stones that

23 Flavian amphitheater: *CIL* VI 40454a, with a very plausible reconstruction of two superimposed inscriptions by Géza Alföldy. The stone from Scythopolis has not yet been published; whether it is possible to deduce the words from the dowels is very uncertain. In an inscription from the aqueduct of Segovia only the holes for the fasteners have been preserved, and the reconstruction of the text remains problematic (Alföldy 1992 and 1997), since there is no evidence that a Princeps could issue an order to municipal magistrates, formulated in an inscription with the word *iussu*; ideologically and “legally” this seems impossible.

24 On this, see now *CIIP* II 1210 ff. Cf. Eck 2008b.

25 See Gersht 2008; Holum 2008.

26 So Christian Witschel, the one now overseeing the Heidelberg database, who kindly informed me of the details.

once bore inscriptions with letters made of bronze. From the point of view of content, this body of texts represents a type of texts completely different from those that were written on bronze tablets.²⁷ Nevertheless, if one establishes a relation between all inscriptions and those written on bronze, then of the inscriptions recorded in the database, including the diplomas, approximately 0.8% are written on bronze; without the diplomas the figure is around 0.53%. If one were to apply these figures to the inscriptions collected in the Clauss database, which, excluding the *instrumentum domesticum*, has approximately 357.000 texts, then in relation to all known Latin inscriptions, there should be approximately 2850 inscriptions on bronze, including the diplomas.²⁸ Because the number of known diplomas is approximately 1.000, then according to this calculation, the other inscriptions on bronze would hardly exceed 1850. This number is certainly too low. But by how much it is too low cannot yet be determined.

However one calculates the total, the quantity of preserved bronze inscriptions will never be very impressive when compared to the total number of all Latin inscriptions. It would be wrong, though, to conclude that the meaning and significance of these texts was insignificant either in the Roman period or in the present. Quite the opposite is the case: many of these texts recorded on bronze are of absolutely central historical importance, precisely because of the distinctive nature of the information recorded.

Of course there is hardly any inscription type that cannot *also* appear on bronze. Numerous bronze tablets, especially small ones, have been preserved, which belong to dedications to gods.²⁹ They were usually attached to the base of the dedicated gift, often in the form of a *tabula ansata*; the letters are often only punched into the bronze tablet. Such indeed is the case with a small inscription from Apulum: *M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Sila actar(ius) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) pro se et suos v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)* (AE 1962, 208). Another one from Sarmizegetusa bears the following text: *Eup[r]epes L(uci) Val(eri)*

27 In this case the group is virtually restricted to inscriptions on buildings and dedications, that is, relatively short texts. Laws, *senatus consulta*, political and ideological texts, etc., the focus of this contribution, are not presented this way epigraphically.

28 In the Heidelberger Datenbank inscriptions on *instrumentum domesticum* are not systematically included. Moreover there is uncertainty about what objects should be counted as *instrumentum domesticum* and how their texts should be defined. That there is no standard definition is also part of the problem.

29 In general, see Meyer 2004: 102.

Eu[ty]-chi Asclepio e[t] Hygiae d(ono) d(edit) (AE 1977, 679).³⁰ If the gift was larger, then the bronze tablets were larger too, as is the case with a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Turmasgade: the *tabula* is 13.2 cm. high and approximately 27 cm. wide.³¹ Its place of origin is unknown. Texts with this content are found in much greater numbers on stone.

The corpus of bronze plates that were attached to individual objects as ownership marks, especially to pieces of military equipment such as shields, swords, and lances, is also relatively large.³² A significant portion of these items originated in the camps of the Roman army. In recent times, these are to be found especially in the catalogues of antiquities dealers, typically without any indication of origin.

The bronze tablets that were superimposed on masonry bases underneath honorary statues do not survive in any number. There were however also inscriptions of this type, which probably existed in greater numbers than has previously been assumed. Such *tabulae aeneae* are known from Spain as well as from Rome, as the inscription for Cn. Cornelius Pusio indicates, which was found together with the bronze statue of the honoree in his house on the Quirinal.³³ Another fragment of such a bronze inscription from Rome has only been preserved to date because the tablet was cut up, and a military diploma, dating from the years between approximately 202 and 206, was created out of it – an example of a very early re-use of an inscription on bronze.³⁴ Such bronze tablets were also placed under statues for emperors. In Rome this is attested in the *schola* of the *aenatores tubicines liticines cornicines Romani*, who dedicated a statue of Tiberius in this manner before he became emperor.³⁵ A recently published bronze fragment from Naaldwijk in the

30 Cf. also CIL XIII 1191 and 1992: dedications to the god Mercury.

31 Eck 2010c = CIIP II 1129.

32 AE 1935, 109 (Arcidava): *Coh(ortis) I Vindelico(rum) Iuli Martialis (centuria) Clemen(tis)*: the inscription is in punched letters. IDR 2, 378 is the ownership label for a parade mask on which is written: *T(iti) Pii Prisci. T(iti) Pii Prisci // Vitalis t(urma) Crispini* (two successive owners). A similar mark of ownership may be found in Eck – Pangerl 2004.

33 Spain: AA VV. *Los bronzes romanos en España* 1990: 179, 226–35. Pusio: CIL VI 31706 = 37056; cf. further CIL II/7, 279, for a *procurator* Cornelius in Corduba; ILS 1353, for C. Iulius Pacatianus from Vienna; CIL V 1838, for C. Baebius Atticus from Iulium Carnicum. AE 1916, 77 = ILAfr 449, from Bulla Regia, mentions an *ara aerea*; the inscription itself, however, is on a statue base.

34 RMD IV 304 with Eck 2000. Further remains of such bronze tablets may be found in CIL VI 31693a–k; cf. pp. 4775–76.

35 Morizio 1996 = CIL VI 40334.

Netherlands comes from a statue that the *classis Germanica* probably erected for Hadrian somewhere in Germania Inferior.³⁶

If only inscriptions with such content had been presented to the public on bronze, then bronze inscriptions would neither be worth highlighting nor treating as a special category: there is of course a sufficient number of inscriptions of these types on stone. However, many important texts from the state and municipal or public realm and some from the world of *collegia* have been published only on bronze. This group is represented early on by the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, which was found in modern Calabria (*CIL* 1² 581). It continues with a series of legal texts from the later Roman Republic, such as the *lex repetundarum* and the *lex agraria* (Italy), the *lex de xx quaestoribus*, and the *lex Antonia de Termessibus* (Rome), the *tabula Heracleensis* (Pisticci in southern Italy), the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina* (Veleia); and goes on through the *lex Valeria Aurelia* of the *tabula Hebana* (Heba and, in part, Siarum in Spain), to the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* (Rome).³⁷ A whole series of *senatus consulta* on bronze tablets is known, such as the *s.c. de Asclepiade Clazomenio* (Rome), the *s.c. de aedificiis non diruendis* (Herculaneum), the *s.c. de Cn. Pisone patre* (various places in Andalusia), and others.³⁸ All the municipal laws of the Iberian peninsula, of Lauriacum in Noricum, and of Troesmis in *Moesia inferior* are on bronze tablets, as are a series of decisions of the Roman *Principes*, such as the Augustan edict of Bierzo found in northern Spain (*AE* 1999, 915 = *AE* 2000, 760), the edicts of Claudius about imperial possessions in the Alps and about the civil law of the Anauni found in Cles near Trento (*FIRA* 1² no. 71), the regulation of the *subseciva* of Falerii by Domitian found in Falerii (*FIRA* 1² no. 75), a *decretum* of Antoninus Pius for Obulcula found near Obulcula in Spain, and also a part of the speech of Claudius about the *ius honorum* of the Gauls found in Lyon (*ILS* 212), and other texts.³⁹ A complete compilation of such groups of texts does not yet exist, either for laws or for *senatus consulta*, or for imperial decisions in the form of edicts, decrees, or letters. The collection of Oliver, to which we will return later, contains only imperial writings in the

36 Derks 2010.

37 Places of discovery are recorded in parentheses; texts are conveniently found in Crawford 1996.

38 Collected in *FIRA* 1² and elsewhere; for the *SCPP* see Eck – Caballos – Fernández 1996 and below, n. 42 (Bartels).

39 Iberian peninsula: González Fernández 1990; Caballos Rufino 2006. Lauriacum: *AE* 1907, 100 = *AE* 1953, 124 = *AE* 1971, 291; Wedenig 1997: no. 2. Troesmis: above n. 21. Obulcula: *CIL* 11²/5, 1322; Eck 1993 = *AE* 1993, 1003b. See also the texts published by Eck-Pangerl 2011, where, apparently, we have a *senatus consultum* from the early imperial period.

Greek language, a distinction that from the point of view of contents never made much sense.

In addition to these “state” rulings, reference must also be made to other private legal documents that are written on bronze, relating, for example, to the irrigation of a large area such as the one in the Ebro Valley (*AE* 2006, 676) or to an unknown place in Dalmatia (*CIL* III 14969, 2 = *ILJug* 2959), to an *album* of the decurions of Canusium (*CIL* IX 338), to an index of the members of a Mithras association from Virunum (*AE* 1994, 1334), as well as to numerous *tabulae patronatus* that were hung up in the houses of patrons.⁴⁰ The number of preserved texts of this type is not all that large, but this does not mean much with respect to the number of texts that once existed. For precisely with these mostly publicly accessible documents, it is important not to forget that the rate of loss for texts in bronze was disproportionately high.

The very high loss rate, or very small survival rate, can be observed by considering a few examples. Of the municipal law of the *municipium Troesmis*, which was probably engraved on up to a hundred bronze tablets, only two have been preserved.⁴¹ The *s.c. de Cn. Pisone patre* was probably displayed publicly on bronze tablets in all cities in Baetica, yet, except for the two complete or at least largely preserved copies, A and B, only five small fragments of the text are known; in that province, however, were far more than one hundred communities.⁴² The small fragments of the *s.c. de Cn. Pisone* show how valuable even mini-fragments can be for the reconstruction of the former publication density of a document such as this *s.c.*, since they each represent an

40 See also Beltran Lloris 2006, about an irrigation decree from the Ebro valley, Piccottini 1994, about a *collegium* of Mithras in Virunum, and a decree of the *collegium centonariorum* in Regium Lepidum, *CIL* XI 970 = *ILS* 7216, about the election of patrons. On this subject, see also Nicols 1980 and in this volume, ch. 11; Beltran Lloris 2010. For a list of documents on bronze from the Iberian Peninsula, see Caballos 2009.

41 See above, n. 19.

42 See Eck – Caballos – Fernández 1996: 279–87.; further Stylow – Corzo Pérez 1999. An additional fragment of the *s.c.* has been identified by Bartels 2009. Uncertain, however, remains the meaning of the statement: *itemq(ue) hoc s(enatus) c(onsultum) in hibernis cuiusq(ue) legionis at signa figeretur*. Does it mean that the troops had also to exhibit the *s.c.* on a bronze tablet, or were they given a relatively free hand to engrave it also on other materials? Precisely that fragment of the *s.c.* published by Bartels and found in Geneva suggests that the legions too presented the text on a bronze tablet. It seems possible that this fragment found in Geneva was once exhibited at the *colonia Iulia Equestris*; but since the fragment was apparently recycled in the context of the collection of old metal, that could mean that it once belonged to one of the legionary camps near the Rhein or (in the Tiberian age) even to a inner-Gallic legionary camp.

individual copy of the text used throughout Andalusia. Admittedly, the assignment of the fragments to this s.c. has been possible primarily because the complete text is known.

In other cases, there are some uncertainties of interpretation for fragments. Thus recently, a bronze fragment from Nijmegen, which could be put together from four smaller fragments, was published and interpreted with caution as part of an imperial speech or a comparable statement by the emperor. The content cannot be determined clearly, but it relates to the Roman army; the interpretation that the fragments once belonged to an imperial document is justified, since the letters, which are two centimeters high, are exceptionally large.⁴³ Still more noteworthy is the unusual thickness of the tablet (0.8 cm.), which allows an inference about its overall size: it once bore a long, continuous text. Thus, from its material value alone, the tablet must have been quite expensive.⁴⁴ Such effort is not expended on a banal document, but rather only on a text that has great factual or political significance. All of this speaks for an imperial document that was once displayed in Nijmegen, perhaps even in the legionary camp there. This is not the only such evidence, however, for this region in lower Germany, in which more or less nothing about such inscriptions on bronze was previously known; indeed, in recent years several such fragments have been found. They all have comparable content, including a document on which the name of an emperor was carefully scratched out.⁴⁵ If in a region such as the Netherlands, which had very little metal on hand, so many indications of larger bronze inscriptions are nevertheless still being found today, then these must have been displayed in great numbers in cities and army camps during the first three centuries of Roman rule.

Presenting a complete list of all of these larger documents on bronze here would take up too much space. However even the previously named places of discovery make a very clear statement: all of these inscriptions on bronze come either from Rome, from Italy, or from one of the provinces in the West or the Danube lands in which Roman culture was a determining principle of public life and where, in addition, Latin was the official language of public communication. Aside from Rome and Italy in general, Spain is the place where a large number of these documents on bronze has been discovered. Especially in Baetica, numerous more or less fragmentary municipal laws have

43 While the letters of the inscriptions on honorary statue bases are significantly larger, they belong to a completely different type of inscription.

44 Eck – Veen 2010.

45 See, for example, Derks 2010: no. 2; *AE* 2004, 984; other texts from the Netherlands will need to be reviewed again to determine if their full meaning has been comprehended.

been found; according to the latest estimates, there could be more than forty locations to which these fragments are to be assigned. Added to these from this province are twelve copies of *senatus consulta*, including the *tabula Siarensis*, which is complemented in terms of its content by the *tabula Hebana*, found in Heba in Etruria; five imperial letters; eighteen declarations of *hospitium* and *clientelae*; in addition, at least sixty further fragments on bronze are known, of which many have legal content.⁴⁶ An imperial oath was also recorded on bronze (*AE* 1988, 723 = *HEp* 13: 586). If one checks the discovery locations of the 539 inscriptions on bronze that can be identified in the Heidelberg database, one finds that, apart from the military diplomas, they, like the previously-recorded documents, almost all come from the Latin-speaking provinces of the Empire.

This result is of course not entirely representative, since the Heidelberg database has up until now recorded fewer inscriptions from the eastern provinces. Yet from Ephesus, with its approximately three thousand inscriptions, not one inscription on metal is known, except for an accounting of temple money from the sixth century BC, which is engraved on a thin silver plate.⁴⁷ This situation can be regarded as representative; Ephesus has been excavated systematically to a large extent. An identical observation arises for the area of modern Israel, for which the material is largely collected in the archive of *CIIP*. Except for a few medallions from late antiquity, no inscriptions on bronze are known, either in Latin or in Greek or in any other – indigenous – language used there for inscriptions. Only curse tablets of lead are known, but that is another category.⁴⁸

All this means that an important type of Roman inscription on bronze known from the West is generally not found in the Roman provinces of the East. There are no Republican laws on bronze tablets (which is no wonder, since they were mostly relevant only for the *ager Romanus*), no contracts with *poleis*, *senatus consulta*, municipal laws, or imperial letters, but many inscriptions with exactly such a content are known from the East. Indeed, the majority of imperial letters and edicts known to us comes from the Greek-speaking provinces. The collection of R.K. Sherck, entitled *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (1969), shows this. Among seventy-eight entries, only a single text written in Latin or Greek and recorded on a bronze tablet relates to a city in

46 Caballos 2009: 147–70.

47 *I. Ephesus* 1 1; in contrast, *I. Ephesus* nos. 4 and 7 note that the respective documents were to be published on a whitened wooden tablet or on stone (a reference made to me by Helmut Engelmann).

48 See now, for Jerusalem and Caesarea, *CIIP* I–III, which contain more than 2.600 inscriptions, not one on a bronze tablet.

the East of the empire, namely Clazomenai. But the *tabula aenea* with the *s.c.* was displayed in Rome, not in the East.⁴⁹ The other seventy-seven texts in his collection (including the Republic and the Augustan era) are all written on stone. This applies analogously to the collection of Oliver, who only included imperial letters and edicts in Greek: aside from the papyrological evidence, all of them are engraved on stone. These pieces of evidence, which are numerous, have multiplied since the posthumous publication of Oliver's collection, and they are all written on stone.⁵⁰ Bronze was used only for two imperial letters intended for public presentation found recently in Achaia and Macedonia. One comes from the city of Naryx in the north of the province of Achaia; for it, at least, the form of a stone stele typical for the East has been retained.⁵¹

Given all of this information, two pieces of evidence are downright sensational. A contract sworn under oath in 46 BC between Rome and the *ethnos* of the Lycians has been discovered. That it is written in Greek is not as noteworthy as that it is inscribed on a bronze tablet, which was certainly posted in a city of Lycia, perhaps in the Letoon in Xanthos (*AE* 2005, 1487).⁵² Why this form of public presentation was chosen here cannot be determined directly; perhaps this copy was made in Rome and brought from there to Lycia. Such a double publication on bronze in Rome and in the province can also be assumed for a contract with Maroneia (*SEG* 35, 823); for another treaty between Rome and the Lycians that dates from the pre-Sullan era, to judge from a fragment that has been found in Tyberissos (*AE* 2007, 1504); and for a corresponding fragment of the treaty from Kibyra (*OGIS* 762).⁵³ The last, indeed, mentions publication on bronze at Rome, while the text itself in Kibyra has been placed on the base of a statue of the goddess Roma. Here one must reckon with an official presentation on stone. It is at all events certain that the only preserved texts of these documents in the East are those that were engraved on this material.

A second surprising bronze fragment comes from Sagalassos in Pisidia; only two small fragments of a lengthy inscription are preserved.⁵⁴ The exceptional aspects here are, first, that Latin was used in a city in which we are familiar with several hundred inscriptions, of which only five are written in Latin; second,

49 Sher 1969; no. 22 = *CIL* I² 588 = 40890 = *IGUR* I 1.

50 Oliver 1989; Souris-Anastasiadis 2000.

51 *SEG* 51, 641. The other imperial letter, also from Hadrian and also on bronze, comes from Macedonia and is still unpublished (see Birley 2005b: 309).

52 Cf. Mitchell 2005.

53 Cf. Frederiksen 1965: 185.

54 Eck 2008c.

that the thickness of the bronze tablet preserving only a few words and which corresponds to that of the large inscriptions from Spain, suggests that the original tablet must have been quite large. None of these traits fits what we know about the publication of official imperial writings or other state documents in the entire region of Asia Minor, but they correspond completely with what we know from Rome and the West of the empire. Since the few factual hints in the text itself most likely point to the Augustan or Tiberian era, it stands to reason that the fragment belongs to a document that was composed in Rome in which the text recommended or even ordered an appropriate publication on a *tabula aenea*. The documents that are contained in the *tabula Siarensis* and in the *s.c. de Cn. Pisone patre* require this form of public announcement, e.g.: *item hoc s(enatus) c(onsultum) in cuiusque provinciae celeberrima urbe eiusque i<n> urbis ipsius celeberrimo loco in aere incisum figeretur*.⁵⁵ Assuming that this was the case also in Pisidia, the strange fragment in Sagalassos would be understandable. In some contracts from the late Republic the Senate also ordered this form of public presentation for cities in the East of the Empire; one may therefore assume that these commands of the Senate were normally followed.⁵⁶ Admittedly, such commands are found in only a few contracts. This was not, then, the general practice. In any case, the cities in the East did not regard this process as a challenge to change their general practice of engraving important documents in stone, so that they might be preserved and accessible for a longer time. People remained true to their own traditions.

All of this demonstrates that there was a marked difference between the West and the East in the public presentation of large, public, especially legal and political, texts.⁵⁷ In the West, the organs of the *res publica* itself, not only the Emperor, but also the office holders of the autonomous cities and frequently also private individuals, used bronze tablets in order to announce texts to the public and especially to preserve them for the future.⁵⁸ These are texts that were important for all citizens of a community or particularly for those

55 Eck – Caballos – Fernández 1996: *SCPP* lines 170–171.

56 See Meyer 2004: 96 with n. 16.

57 On this point more fully: Eck 2009a.

58 Joseph. *BJ* 2.216 reports a ruling of Claudius conferring on Agrippa the royal authority over Judaea and specifying that the order was to be preserved on a bronze tablet on the Capitol at Rome. Nothing is said about the method of publication in another edict of the emperor sent to the provinces to be set up there, except that the text was to be available for reading for at least thirty days (Joseph. *AJ* 19. 291). Here is a clear reference to publication that was not expected to be permanent. For private publication, see, e.g., a document from Lavinium in which it is noted at the end that on the birthday of Servilius Diodorus,

groups that would continue to be affected in the future. In the East, this practice was almost unknown under Roman rule. Moreover, it was not emulated by the locals, nor was it forced upon them by the central government. When it is specified in an edict of the late-antique *praefectus praetorio* Pusaesus from the year 480 that the edict should be published either on stone or on bronze so that the people then alive or those who would live in the future could be familiar with it, then this is in the Roman tradition; the edict itself, however, which is known from both Mylasa and from Stratonikeia in Asia Minor, was, of course, published on stone there.⁵⁹

This is not to say that bronze tablets were not used *sometimes* in the Eastern provinces for such texts, but this occurred only under very special conditions, as in the contract with Lycia in Caesar's time or with the text from Sagalassos. Naturally, Roman magistrates sometimes published texts on bronze in the manner familiar to them, as a prefect of Egypt under Domitian did with an edict of the emperor. This edict could be read in Alexandria on a *tabula aenea, quae est fixa in Caesareo magno escendentium scalas secundas sub porticum dexterem secus aedem Veneris marmoreae in pariete* (AE 1910, 75 = ILS 9059). But for the provinces in the Greek East in Roman times, publication on bronze always remained a foreign practice. Nothing can demonstrate this more clearly than the epigraphic presentation of a speech that a senator under Marcus Aurelius gave in the Senate in Rome about the excessive prices for gladiators. The text of the inscription is preserved in Italica in Spain and in Sardis in the province of Asia. In Italica, the text is inscribed on a big bronze tablet (FIRA I² no. 49); in Sardis it is written on stone (ILS 9340).

To judge from the documents published thus far, bronze military diplomas reveal a marked difference in the selection of bronze as the material of choice for inscriptions, and that difference cannot have been conditioned by accident of transmission or the state of excavations in the eastern provinces. Diplomas have been found in all parts of the empire, including the eastern provinces, as the following table shows:

the patron of the *dendrophori*, *sportulae* should be distributed according to the stipulation *quae in tabula aenea, quam schola in quam convenimus perscriptum (!) posuit* (AE 1998, 282).

59 I. Mylasa 613 + 11 pp. 5–6: λίθῳ ἢ χαλκῷ τὸν ἡμέτερον <γ>εν[ικὸν τοῦτον τύπ]ον ἅπασιν δῆλον προκίσθαι τοῖς τ(ε) [νῦν] οὖσιν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένοις; cf. I. Stratonikeia 200; also, I. Mylasa 613, and more comprehensively Feissel 1994; the inscription has been rediscovered, see Blümel 2004 (I thank Wolfgang Blümel for this information).

Diplomas found in Asia / Galatia / Lycia-Pamphylia / Cilicia	<i>RMD</i> I 55. 74; II 100. 110. 131. 133; III 160 173; <i>RGZM</i> 22. 41; <i>AE</i> 2005, 1730; Eck – Cotton 2011
in Syria	<i>CIL</i> XVI 117; <i>RMD</i> I 9. 69
in Iudaea/Syria Palaestina	<i>CIL</i> XVI 87; Eck 2010a (?)
in Arabia	unpublished
in Aegyptus	<i>CIL</i> XVI 29. 122. 184; <i>RMD</i> III 185; Eck 2011.

This is not a very large number, given the total inventory of diplomas, yet it is a sufficiently large one, especially if one considers that the mass of the diplomas found in the last two decades (and this group constitutes more than half of all such pieces) had to be published without a precise specification of their origin, or at best with an indication of a larger region.⁶⁰ However, the diplomas just mentioned, for which the place of discovery is known, show that documents on bronze are also nowadays found in the East if they existed there in Roman times. One must assume that the newer diplomas were mainly discovered with the help of metal detectors. The fact that no other documents on bronze from this region are being sold in the antique market, suggests that they did not exist in large quantities, since a metal detector does not distinguish between diplomas and other texts on bronze.⁶¹ Diplomas, however, are found there because they were produced in Rome and sent from the center to the soldiers in the provinces, also in the East. If they have been preserved there until the present, then this would also apply to documents on bronze, that were produced in these provinces themselves in Roman times.⁶² However, this is obviously not the case. Therefore it cannot be an accident of transmission or the intensity of the excavations that leads to our conclusion, as has sometimes been suspected. For precisely the larger *metropoleis* of western Asia Minor, from which the mass

60 See, e.g., the indications about the find-spots in *RMD* IV p. 617. For two or three diplomas issued for soldiers in Galatia–Cappadocia it is also very likely that they were found somewhere in Asia minor: see Eck–Pangerl 2014.

61 With other imperial documents from emperors or governors, the content usually provides guidance as to which region or city was intended as the recipient, even if the context of the discovery is unknown.

62 That was actually anticipated by the Senate in several treaties of the late Roman Republic: see above, p. 136.

of official documents transmitted on stone – laws, *senatus consulta*, imperial letters, and governor's edicts – derive, have been excavated with special intensity and care. We have comprehensive publications of the inscriptions of such well known cities as Ephesus, Pergamon, Miletus, Priene, Sardis, and Alexandria Troas. Also, places such as Antioch, Beirut, Heliopolis in the province of Syria, Caesarea Maritima in Judaea, and Petra and Gerasa in Arabia have all been well-researched, but documents on bronze have not been discovered there.⁶³

The logical conclusion is that the pattern described here captures an essential difference in the epigraphic culture in the Roman Empire. The *transmarinae provinciae*, which represent themselves differently in many respects, also distinguish themselves clearly from the provinces of the West and the Danube region from this point of view – so deeply, in fact, that centuries of a Roman presence in these provinces did not change anything essential about their practice of recording. This is almost comparable to the usage of the two languages of the Empire: in the East, Latin did not become the dominant language anywhere except in the military realm, and then only to a certain degree and for a certain period of time in some Roman colonies. Greek always remained the *lingua franca* in the eastern parts of the empire.⁶⁴

But why was this form of presentation of important texts on bronze tablets so characteristic for the West so widely avoided or even rejected in the East, even if in the later Republic the Roman senate had sometimes ordered or initiated it also in the East? And why, vice-versa, was the practice so natural in the West that the large majority of all longer texts of the described type preserved in that part of the empire are on bronze and only rarely on stone?⁶⁵ For the deep-rooted traditions of Rome, Italy, and eventually the entire West, the beginning of Roman normative legislation with the Twelve Tables was probably decisive. According to Livy, the laws were published: *leges decemvires*,

63 This is the view of Haensch 2009b:177, who maintains that one cannot determine whether or not the over-representation of stone still today in the documents of the east is due to the better conditions that existed for the preservation and transmission of inscriptions on stone, but such a position seems very unlikely, given the overall evidence.

64 See also the various contributions in Cotton – Hoyland – Price – Wasserstein 2009.

65 Official documents on stone from the west survive only in small numbers: e.g., the *s.c. de saltu Bequense* (FIRA I² No. 47); the regulation of an imperial *saltus* in Africa (CIL VIII 25943, 26416; AE 2001, 2083; cf. Schubert 2008); the dossier with several *epistulae* from various office holders engraved on a gate in Saepinum (FIRA I² No. 61 = AE 1962, 92); and the *edictum Augusti de aquaeductu Venafrano* (FIRA I² 67).

*quibus tabulis duodecim est nomen, in aes incisas in publico . . .*⁶⁶ And Pliny the Elder explains quite clearly that “the use of bronze to secure the perpetuity of monuments by means of bronze tablets, on which the records of official acts were incised, has been handed down from long ago”.⁶⁷ *Publicae constitutiones* and publication on metal (i.e. bronze) had become intrinsically connected in the perception of the Romans. Nothing else was conceivable. And this concept was transferred from *leges* to other normative texts, such as *senatus consulta* and, later, decisions or letters of the *Principes*. The *Lex Tappula*, a parody of legal codification, shows just how natural the concept was that a law was to be published on bronze: it too is written on a bronze tablet.⁶⁸

In the Greek world, developments took a distinctively different course.⁶⁹ There, already in the archaic period in certain cities, bronze was used in addition to wood and stone as a medium for the display of many texts of a normative character.⁷⁰ Hence, when Porphyrio writes in his commentary on the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, *aereis enim tabulis antiqui non sunt usi, sed roboreis. In his incidebant leges. Unde adhuc Athenis legum tabulae axones vocantur* (Comm. ad Hor. *Art. Poet.* 399), that is only partially true, if we consider the inscriptions on bronze preserved from archaic Greece. Nonetheless, over the course

66 Livy 3.57.10. The notice of Pomponius, *Dig.* 1.2.2.4, that the *leges* may be carved into *tabulae eboreae* is not relevant here. The same may be said about the assumption that there were originally *tabulae roboreae*. When such *tabulae roboreae* are mentioned in the Commentary of Porphyrio, to Hor. *Ars Poetica* 399, namely that *leges* should be carved into them, the connection is rather to the Greek customs: Horace himself is speaking about Orpheus and Amphion as the creators of culture, just as does Porphyrio, as is clear in his notation (4, 15 to verse 399): *Aereis enim tabulis antiqui non sunt usi, sed roboreis. In his incidebant leges. Unde adhuc Athenis legum tabulae axones vocantur*. The only time that the *tabulae roboreae* appear in a Roman context is at Gell. *NA* 2.20.5, and they are oak tablets relating to the fencing of a *vivarium*; these *tabulae* have no connection to inscriptions.

67 Plin. *HN* 34.99 . . . *usus aeris ad perpetuitatem monimentorum iam pridem tralatus est tabulis aereis, in quibus publicae constitutiones inciduntur*.

68 *ILS* 8761; cf. Meyer 2004: 67.

69 Precisely this phenomenon of the use of bronze in Greek epigraphic culture was a major subject of discussion among the participants of the congress in San Antonio, and I very much appreciate the suggestions received in that context. It would be a worthwhile project to examine the use of bronze for inscriptions and to consider the virtually universal preference for marble in the Greek East in later times, and why the Roman practice of using *tabulae aeneae* established no pattern of use, despite the political domination of the Romans in the East from the late Republic on.

70 On this point, see for example, Robert 1936: 47–48; *Hellenica* 10: 289–290; 1966; *BE* 1971, 45; Klaffenbach 1960: 25; Stroud 1963; van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994; Hölkeskamp 1999.

of time bronze was employed less frequently as a means for the formal publication or presentation of documents. Hence we have no correspondence or other proclamations of Hellenistic kings that survive on bronze tablets.⁷¹ Marble, rather, was the material employed with ever greater frequency during the classical period to preserve decrees and public records. It is symptomatic, then, that from Athens only one such decree of the assembly written on a bronze tablet has been found (*IG* I³ 49). According to the editors of *IG*³, the document preserved in this manner is actually a private proclamation, and the *polis* was not responsible for its public presentation.⁷² Apart from that, public decrees recorded on bronze survive in Entella (Sicily) from the third century BC, and we find bronze employed for other types of Greek inscriptions in later periods.⁷³

Nonetheless, as far as we can determine, for normative texts, which in later periods include treaties with Rome, *senatus consulta*, and letters and edicts of the emperors, bronze disappears as a medium for the presentation of public documents. For Greek city-states it was increasingly the norm to preserve public access to these texts on stone. Indeed, this practice persisted after the second century BC, despite the political domination of Rome and its models for publication of a range of documents. In the late Republic, as already mentioned, there is evidence that Rome sometimes ordered analogous publication in the East.⁷⁴ But these mandates did not lead to a change in the style employed by the Greek cities for displaying in public even such texts as came from Rome.

71 See Welles 1934.

72 Other indications of bronze as the medium for preserving public inscriptions in Stroud 1963 and Clinton 2005 no. 13 (= *IG* I³ 5) and plate 3.

73 Decrees: see the exhibition catalogue *Da un'antica città* 2001. Other types of inscriptions on bronze: on Corcyra, we have rulings of the Halia that decrees about *proxenia* should be published on a *chalcoma*, but only decrees preserved on stone *stelae* survive (*IG* IX 1, 685–688). At Byllis in Illyria an honorary decree is to be erected in a *locus celeberrimus* (*SEG* 38, 521); at Rhegion, in the Bouleuterion (*IG* XIV 612); in Magnesia on the Maeander one was found in the sanctuary of Apollo (Kern 1900 no. 45). These are not normative texts but rather decrees in honor of persons or to record an extension of *proxenia*; moreover they are neither laws nor treaties nor letters from kings and later from emperors. On this point, see Butz 2000; Manganaro 2000. Note too that decrees of *proxenia*, functionally equal to *tesserae hospitales* in the West, could also be found on bronze: e.g., Manganaro 1963. Impressive also is the archive of about one hundred fifty bronze tablets from Argos (*SEG* 54, 427, 429). These tablets are related to financial transactions of political or religious organizations concerning sacred funds of Athena and Hera. Presumably these tablets were not publicly displayed.

74 Meyer 2004: 96 and n. 16.

That is, Roman intervention did not produce a fundamental change in the epigraphic culture of the Greek East, despite the fact that it would have led to a return to an earlier form of publication and presentation. The two worlds touched and influenced one another to a large extent, but each retained characteristic features that did not change at all. The publication and presentation of normative texts on bronze is an immutable part of Roman culture. *Aes* was regarded as *perenne*. Ironically, however, the use of this permanent and at the same time valuable material caused the disproportionate destruction of the cultural monuments entrusted to it, whereas in the East many official Roman documents survive because they were cut into stone. Horace believed that his poems were *aere perennius* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.1). He could not have foreseen to what extent precisely this became true: today his poems are well preserved, but the large majority of inscriptions on bronze have not survived.

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Roman *Gaia* and the Discourse of Patronage: Retrograde C in *CIL* VI

Peter Keegan

Introduction

Θ. *Flaminia* ∇. *l(iberta)* *Saluta*. | *C(aius)* *Valerius* *Triari l(ibertus)* *Phileros*,
| *accensus*. | *Valeria* *C(ai)* *et l(iberta)* *Scurra*. |⁵ *C(aius)* *Valerius* *C(ai)*
l(ibertus) *Eros*. | *In hoc sepulchrum inferetur nemo praeter | quam quorum*
nomina supra inscripta sunt. | *Hoc monumentum heredem non sequitur*.
| *In front(e) ped(es) XII, in agr(o) ped(es) XVIII*.

Rome, 1st century BCE

Dead: *Flaminia Saluta*, freedwoman of a woman. *Gaius Valerius Phileros*, freedman of *Triarius*, magistrate's attendant. *Valeria Scurra*, freedwoman of *Gaius* and a woman. *Gaius Valerius Eros*, freedman of *Gaius*. No-one other than those whose names are inscribed above will be buried in this tomb. This memorial does not follow the heir. Twelve feet in frontage, eighteen feet in depth.

This inscription (*CIL* 6.37156) situates the death, burial, and commemoration of a certain *Flaminia Saluta* within a wider symbolic context.¹ The principles underpinning Roman onomastic conventions can be applied to identify and interpret important elements of the personal identity and social condition of the deceased and the other three named individuals. Unpacking *CIL* 6.37156 reveals the following information: *Flaminia Saluta* is deceased; two men (*C. Valerius Phileros*, *C. Valerius Eros*) and another woman (*Valeria Scurra*) share *Flaminia*'s legal right to occupy this tomb; all these persons are ex-slaves; the space designated for their burial monument is twelve by eighteen Roman feet. We also learn that the *libertus* *Phileros* was attached to a certain *C. Valerius*

1 For editorial apparatus and commentary, *CIL* 6.4/3, p. 3821. The cognomen *Saluta* appears in other urban epitaphs: e.g., *CIL* 6.4816, 12743, 21667 (where it is engraved, as here, with an apex), 23498, 28270, 28711; cf. also *ILS* 7826.

Triarius in the capacity of *accensus*.² The nomenclature of the other freedpersons strongly suggests that he was also the person who freed C. Valerius Eros and Valeria Scurra.

As can be seen, the text of the inscription comprises two abbreviations. The first of these is either the Greek letter *theta*, known generally as the black *theta* (*theta nigrum*), or the Latin letter O with a medial bar. This epigraphic marker, used in Latin inscriptions to indicate that individuals named after the sign were deceased, need not detain us.³ More interesting from a socio-historical perspective is the deployment of retrograde C. In particular, the manner in which (and possible reasons why) the discourse of the Latin epigraphic tradition assigns the identities of many women to a fixed and stable category – “Gaia”, the reverse of the masculine referent signifying the Roman owning class, “Gaius”. It is in regard to notions of patronage in an ancient Roman context that the usage of the retrograde form of the Latin letter C (Ɽ or >) is of particular interest. Looking at the way in which the dedicators of inscriptions such as this use this abbreviation for a female slave-owner provides an intriguing case-study in how Roman men and women used epigraphic discourse conforming to a recognizable, though in this case unique, formula and whether or not such an abbreviation – one of tens of thousands used in sepulchral, honorific, and dedicatory Latin inscriptions – is susceptible to straightforward interpretation.⁴

The modern interpreter of inscribed memorials regularly confronts the various domains of contestation that encompass signifiers representing historical and cultural phenomena. As will be seen, retrograde C constitutes one such

2 *Accensi* were public officers who attended to several of the Roman magistrates. They summoned people to assemblies, and those who had lawsuits at court; they preserved order in the assemblies and the courts; and proclaimed the time of day when it was the third, sixth, and ninth hour. They were commonly freedmen of the magistrates they served. Regarding Phileros' *patronus*, the editor of the inscription proposes that C. Valerius Triarius was (a) a legate of Lucullus in the Mithridatic war, (b) a Roman magistrate (*aedile*) and head of a local association (*collegium*) at Fundi (a seacoast town on the via Appia between Formiae and Tarracina, and home to the famous vintage of Caecuban wine), (c) Cicero's friend, the tutor of his son, or (d) none of the above. It is impossible to determine which, if any, of these was the case.

3 The sign Ɽ, used rarely in Latin inscriptions before the Augustan period, stands either for Greek *thanatos* or Latin *obitus*. In either case, however, the word abbreviated refers to death and is used in Latin inscriptions to indicate that individuals named after the sign were deceased: see Friggeri-Pelli 1980; cf. Marichal 1945: 46 n. 72; Watson 1952: 58.

4 According to Elliott 1998, the number of abbreviations in Latin inscriptions published in *L'Année Épigraphique* between 1888 and 1993 is 31,214.

locus of signification: namely, the intersection of gender and history, inscribed on the *tituli Romani* and the multiple bodies of deceased women. In relation to the signifier $\mathcal{O}$, it is the contention of this study that the cultural relationship between women, bodies, and sexuality fostered by the symbolic order of Greco-Roman discourse can be shown to be materially and ideologically constructed and transmitted within a specific semantic field – though whether as social reproduction or challenge or both will be a matter for final reflection.⁵ In order to establish the socio-linguistic and cultural resonances of the signifier, I intend first to survey literary attestations of retrograde C in the canonical tradition. Then, in the context of a broader overview of epigraphic traces of “ $\mathcal{O}$,” I will examine three inscriptions – one from the city of Rome (*CIL* 6.37156, which we have encountered already), the other two set up outside Ostia (*CIL* 14.299, 1808) – with a view to illustrating the implications arising from the designations of female patronage which exist in the ancient epigraphic landscape.

Literary Attestations

As is well known, when a man freed a slave, the freedman or woman incorporated the *praenomen* of the manumitter into his or her full nomenclature, as in “L. Calpurnius L(uci) l(ibertus) Attis”. Women normally did not have *praenomina*, and when they freed a slave, the general sign $\mathcal{O}$. or > was used, which could be read as *mulieris libertus/a* (“freed by a woman”) or as *Gaiae libertus/a*, where the name Gaia stood for any woman. The usage of this uniquely Roman referent of female slave ownership is clearly technical, dependent on Roman onomastic conventions in Latin inscriptions. However, beyond this technical aspect, retrograde C provides us with valuable clues to the slippery valences of epigraphic formulae, and hence with the possibilities for variable significations of identity and status.

5 In critical theory and deconstruction, phallogocentrism (and, originally and more narrowly, logocentrism) are neologisms coined by Jacques Derrida to refer to the perceived tendency of Western thought to locate the centre of any text or discourse within the *logos* and the phallus; see, e.g., Derrida 1982: ix–xxix. Influenced by Derrida’s philosophy of deconstruction, Cixous and Clément 1986 usefully define phallogocentrism with reference to the paternal law organizing thought according to hierarchical, bipolar oppositions like man/woman, masculine/feminine, active/passive, mother/father, nature/culture, reason/emotion, *logos/pathos*, primary/secondary, and centre/margin. This term also refers to the tendential privileging of the signified over the signifier, asserting the signified’s status as more natural or pure. This is manifested in the works of Plato, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Ferdinand de Saussure, and Claude Lévi-Strauss, all of whom regard speech as superior to writing, since writing only represents speech.

A group of apologists speaking directly to the disparity between the sexes in this practice can be located securely within the traditional systems of ancient Mediterranean socio-cultural and philosophical discourse.⁶ M. Terentius Varro – the “first true scholar of Latin literature and antiquities” – reports that “Gaia is celebrated above all other names” formed from the *praenomen* of the husband (*de Praen.* 7).⁷ Some commentators might find it hard to reconcile the academic antiquarian documenting Roman literature and biography with the composer of satiric texts such as “A Chamber Pot Has Its Limits”.⁸ Nevertheless, his recognition of “Gaia” as *super omnes celebrata* resides in a typically thorough comparative study of thirty male and female *praenomina*. Varro’s dedication of his studies of late Republican linguistic propriety to his contemporary and fellow enthusiast of Roman ideas and customs, M. Tullius Cicero, marks the inclusion of “Gaia” as a part of the canonical vernacular.⁹ Cicero himself tells us, tounge firmly in cheek, that the use of Gaia as a “typical woman’s” name led to the fancy of lawyers that “every woman” who entered into a kind

6 Contemporary theorists define these systems of discourse as “foundationalist” and “essentialist”. Foundationalist knowledge is grounded in self-evident or self-justifying beliefs: e.g., Man is superior to Woman; Slave is inferior to Free. Essentialist views prescribe a specific set of characteristics as vital in defining membership of any classifying category or group: e.g., women are weak, passive, gentle, cowardly, emotional, lacking self-control and stamina, lacking in sexual appetites, and highly invested in their relationships with others; men are strong, aggressive, violent, brave, logical, disciplined, lustful, and independent.

7 Quote: Kaster 1996. This is a reference to the brief *Liber de praenominibus* of a late Incertus Auctor (in book 10 of the epitome of Julius Paris. It may be found at the end of editions of Valerius Maximus; most recently Briscoe 1998: 2.796–99. At greater length, the text reads: *antiquarum mulierum frequenti in usu praenomina fuerunt Rutilia Caesellia Rodacilla Murrula Burra, a colore ducta, illa praenomina a uirilibus tracta sunt, Gaia Lucia Publia Numeria, ceterum Gaia usu super omnes celebrata est: ferunt enim Gaiam Caeciliam, Tarquinii Prisci regis uxorem, optimam lanificam fuisse, et ideo institutum ut nouae nuptae, ante ianuam mariti interrogatae quanam uocarentur, Gaias esse se dicerent* (“The *praenomina* of ancient women frequently in use were Rutilia, Caesellia, Rodacilla, Murrula, and Burra, taken from the colour, and those *praenomina* drawn from the masculine were Gaia, Lucia, Publia, and Numeria. Gaia by usage was known over all the rest. For they say that Gaia Caecilia, wife of the king Tarquinius Priscus, had made the best wool, and for that reason it came into practice that new brides, when asked, before their husband’s door, who they were, said that they were ‘Gaia.’”). One would be hard pressed to locate a more explicitly masculinist discourse on the socio-linguistic signification of Roman nomenclature.

8 Fragments of *Est modus matulae* may be found in Cébe 1977: 4.493–524. The title of this satire may be rendered more literally as “A vessel for liquid has its measure”; its message is “Observe Moderation”.

9 The seriousness with which Varro regarded his antiquarian mission can be seen from the preface to his *Antiquitates Rerum Diuinarum*, esp. 1.3.10–12; see Cardauns 1976: 16.

of legal contract (*coemptio*) bore the name of Gaia: "... because in someone's treatises they [the lawyers] had found this name used as an example (*exempli causa id nomen*), they thought that all women who made a formal conveyance of themselves were called 'Gaia'."¹⁰

While *coemptio* (or "purchase") indicates an imaginary sale, it embraced a legal procedure that effected entry into *manus*.¹¹ *Conventio in manum* explicitly conveyed a power akin to that of a father over a member of his household – the all-encompassing, if often misunderstood, classical institution known as *patria potestas* – entry into the "hand" of the husband.¹² In other words, all of the wife's property became the husband's, and she was under his control. The fact that a woman's designation might be formed in part from the *praenomen* of the husband is emblematic of the absorption of material identity constituted by this type of Roman marriage.

The usefulness of this incidental reference to the gendered signifier Gaia may be measured by its rhetorical context. In the middle of L. Sergius Catilina's alleged conspiracy to seize power by desperate and illegitimate means, Cicero defended the consul-elect, L. Licinius Murena, who was accused of bribery during his governorship of Gallia Transalpina in 64–63 BCE. In view of the dangers of the times, Cicero's attention was firmly fixed on arguing that the state must have two consuls ready for the beginning of the next year. Acquitting Murena was uppermost in Cicero's design, and the "light touch" characterizing the tone of this speech belies the seriousness of his intent. Casual inclusion of a vernacular development in Cicero's rhetorical armoury, in service to his art and purpose – may be taken as a candid reflection of a broader socio-cultural strategy, accepted without debate by orator and audience alike.

Cicero's rhetorical contempt for the "cleverness of lawyers" – which he portrays as perverting and distorting the exercise of justice – is invoked in the same breath as his citation of an archetypal category of anti-female invective.¹³ He labels this *infirmitas consilii* – the inconstant or capricious nature of a

10 Cic. Mur. 27: *quia in alicuius libris exempli causa id nomen invenerant, putarunt omnes mulieres quae coemptionem facerent "Gaia" uocari*. Cicero's speech in 62 BCE predates by some twenty years the publication of Varro's treatise on the connection between words and what they represent.

11 Treggiari 1991: 26–27 refers to the technical use of retrograde C in inscriptions as part of her introductory discussion of *coemptio*: "The usage occurred precisely because women did not normally have forenames".

12 For *patria potestas*, see Saller 1994: 114–32.

13 The sincerity of this sentiment can be judged against Cicero's disquisition (in *De or.* 1.239–240) on Publius Crassus's admission that Servius Galba's argument seemed plausible and nearly true (*probabilem et prope ueram uideri*) despite resort to authoritative views

woman's faculties of perception.¹⁴ As the orator affirms in prefacing an argument designed to undermine his judicial opposition, "our ancestors have willed that all women (*mulieres omnes*), because of their weakness of judgment, should be under the power of guardians".¹⁵ Who could gainsay the ideology of an ancestral tradition that conceived of women as part and parcel of a larger classification – those who required the supervision of another in matters of intellectual determination, including those of political, legal, and, especially, financial significance? Certainly, the Twelve Tables, the early Republican codification of Roman jurisprudence, dated conventionally to the mid-fifth century BCE, set the tenor of Ciceronian logic.

Innate female incompetence in matters of reason is supported in the legal proclamations of that time by the uncanny similarity, on the one hand, between provisions applied to children (*impuberes*) – not to mention lunatics (*furiosi*) and spendthrifts (*prodigi*) – and, on the other, those relating to tutelary arrangements for women. The logic is corrosive. Children were thought to require guardians, and in the eyes of the law women were looked upon as children in perpetuity (*filiae loco*). It is a very short step in such a syllogistic proposition to assert that women were also in permanent need of a guardian (*tutela mulierum perpetua*).¹⁶ The tenacity of such a viewpoint, at least in the discourse of Roman law, is manifest in the annotation of the early imperial jurist Gaius on guardianship: "... a woman who makes a *coemptio* with her husband so that she may assume the status of a daughter in his household is said to have made a *coemptio* for the purpose of matrimony."¹⁷ Regardless, then, of Cicero's rhetorical disregard for his opponents' ingenuity (*iure*

"written in the books of P. Mucius and his brother and in the commentaries of Sex. Aelius" (*in P. Mucii, fratris sui, libris, et in Sext. Aelii commentariis scriptum*).

14 Cf. Quint. *Decl.* 272 (*infirmis sexus*); 327 (*infirmior sexus*); 365 (*imbecillior sexus*); Val. Max. 9.1.3 (*imbecillitas mentis*); Sen. *Marc.* 1.1 (*infirmis muliebris animi*); Gai. *Inst.* 1.144 (*levitas animi*). For an edited discussion of Roman female stereotypy in the context of *tutela mulierum perpetua*, see Dixon 2001: 73–88; for a detailed consideration of the ancient representations of "womanly weakness", see Dixon 1984.

15 Cic. *Mur.* 27: *mulieres omnes propter infirmitatem consilii maiores in tutorum potestate esse voluerunt*.

16 Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1260a: "... for the slave is completely without the capacity for judgement; the female has it, but in an unstable form; the child also has it, although its state is 'immature.'" Evans 1991 wonders if Cicero might have borrowed, consciously or otherwise, a Greek idiom to express a Roman idea.

17 Gaius *Inst.* 1.114, "... quae enim cum marito suo facit coemptionem, ut apud eum filiae loco sit, dicitur matrimonii causa fecisse coemptionem.

consultorum ingeniis), the sign of “Gaia” again illuminates a site of ideological investment, and a locus of strenuously contested socio-cultural claims.

Plutarch of Chaeronea compounds the confusion by relaying the formula spoken by a newly espoused bride to her husband (*Quaest. Rom.* 30 = *Mor.* 271). The antiquarian’s inquiry into the first names (*praenomina*) given to women deserves fuller citation: “For what reason do they at Rome, when they bring a newly espoused bride home to the house of her husband, order her to say these words to her spouse: ‘where you are Gaius, I will be Gaia’?” Here, Plutarch is simply translating the Latin formula: *ubi tu Gaius ego Gaia*. To this he answers: “[I]t implies as much as if she should say, ‘Where you are lord and master, I will be lady and mistress.’ Now these names they used as being common, and such as came first to hand . . . just as the lawyers use ordinarily these names Gaius, Seius, Lucius, and Titius.”¹⁸ I draw attention here to a triple intersection of patriarchal signifiers. First, Plutarch identifies use of masculine force over the subject of exchange. The espoused woman, “required to say these words”, articulates her status. Second, he assimilates an ahistorical philosophical construct – female submission to male domination – into a subjugating social practice – marriage as explicitly naturalizing these asymmetrical relations of power. Finally, he assumes that his audience will accept the explanation implicit in such a scholarly rhetoric of gender: “Gaius” *is* lord and master, and “Gaia” *is* lady and mistress.

If there were need to warrant the validity of these observations, Plutarch provides the corroboration. The latter section of his inquiry into the Roman question of an etymological origin for the marriage salutation reveals an alternative hypothesis. According to Plutarch, the names of Gaius and Gaia used in the ritual greeting of wife to husband are drawn from an historical source: Gaia Caecilia, consort of one of Tarquin’s sons, which places her in a time when kings ruled Rome. Plutarch tells his audience that she was a fair and virtuous woman, whose sandals and spindle-whorl she dedicated to her husband “as tokens of her love of home and of her industry”. The evocation of such pervasive concepts as *oikouria* and *energeia*, inscribed in the literary and epigraphic consciousness of the Greco-Roman world, heaps on the sign of

18 Plut. *Mor.* 271 “Διὰ τί νύμφην εἰσάγοντες λέγειν κελεύουσιν, ὅπου σὺ Γάιος ἐγὼ Γαία; . . . καὶ τὸ μὲν δηλούμενον ἐστὶν ὅπου σὺ κύριος καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης καὶ ἐγὼ κυρία καὶ οἰκοδέσποινα; τοῖς δ’ ὀνόμασι τούτοις ἄλλως κέχρηται κοινοῖς οὖσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ νομικοὶ Γάιον Σήιον καὶ Λούκιον Τίτιον . . .”. On the meaning of ὅπου in Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 30 and the use of Gaius as *praenomen* over *nomen gentilicium*, see Gordon 1978; further on the phrase and its significance: Hersch 2010: 187–90.

inverted “Gaius” a concomitant and inescapable meaning. Consequently, we may tentatively attest to the conversion of this semantic field from the irony contained in Cicero’s speech of 62 BCE to the weight of established custom in Plutarch’s late first century CE excursus on a question about Roman customary practice. These citations bear testimony to one aspect of the relations of dominance and subordination within everyday socio-cultural experiences in the late republican and early imperial Greco-Roman world.

M. Fabius Quintilianus, writing more than a hundred years after Cicero’s generation, gives the impression that Gaia was a typical name conventionally used of “any woman” in his explanation of retrograde C: “Gaius is denoted by the letter C, while the inverse means (a) woman”. In this section of his “Training in Oratory”, and particularly during his discussion of the education of the child, Quintilian’s approach to the technicalities of grammar may be characterized as traditional and is recognizably imbued with Ciceronian ideas. Therefore, the weight of canonical, that is, male, élite, educated opinion would appear to side with the reductive codification of any woman to a symbol of female identity. As the custodian of first-century CE Roman rhetoric’s socio-linguistic system confirms, “. . . for as we know from the words of the marriage service, women used to be called *Gaiæ*, just as men were called *Gaii*”.¹⁹

Epigraphic Traces

At first, when the student of ancient socio-cultural practices turns from the scholarly asides of masculinist rhetoric to the material evidence of *prae-nomina* in the inscriptions, epigraphy and the literary canon would seem to coincide.²⁰ In the first instance, consider the conventions of Roman nomenclature for citizen women. If related to each other, we may distinguish elder and younger sisters by the prefixes *maior* and *minor*, while the eldest is often

19 Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.28: *nam et Gaius C littera significatur, quae inuersa mulierem declarat . . . quia tam Gaias esse uocitatas quam Gaios etiam ex nuptialibus sacris apparet.* Cf. Hersch 2010: 188–89.

20 For convenience’s sake, this discussion will acknowledge by exclusion the interdependent terminology of patronymic, gamonymic, and matronymic filiation and of individualizing *cognomina*. Kajava 1994: 20–21 treats the different name types of ordinary women in the Republican period in his analysis of the large, homogeneous group of funerary inscriptions from the ancient cemetery of Old Latium dating from ca. early to mid-third century BCE to the 80s BCE. On the adoption of female *cognomina*, see Kajava 1994: 17, 29.

designated *maxuma*. The ages of a series of sisters are rendered in utilitarian, mathematical terms: Prima, Secunda, Tertia, and so on.²¹ More infrequently, women possess *praenomina* corresponding to those of men, similarly abbreviated: Appia, Aulia, Gnaea, Lucia, Manlia, Numeria, Publia, Servia, Sexta, and Titia. Otherwise, the statistical variation favours the extraction of female appellation from the family of the father (the *nomen gentilicium*): among a variety of others, Antonia, Claudia, Cornelia, Julia, Licinia, Paul(l)a (or Pola, or Pusilla), Pompeia, Scribonia, Sempronia or Sentia.²² This last form of designation conforms best to the classical literature of Rome, wherein freeborn Roman women seem to have no other name in either official or familiar use than their father's *nomen gentilicium* in feminine form, which was not lost by marriage or exchanged for the husband's name. To cite one of our canonical commentators, Cicero, in speaking of his friend Atticus' daughter, sometimes calls her Attica, and once Atticula; and he always calls his daughter Tullia, or he makes a pet diminutive, Tulliola. Indeed, from the evidence of the use of names in literature alone, there is little to lead us to suppose that Roman women ever had *praenomina*.²³

Consider also the representation of the manumitted and disfranchised populations in inscriptions. A freedman usually inserted between his former master's *praenomen* and *nomen* and his own former slave name the genitive case of that master's *praenomen*, followed by L. (or LIB.) for *libertus*, e.g., *C. Iulius C. lib(ertus) Hermes*: Gaius Iulius Hermes, freedman of Gaius. When the former master was an emperor, the *praenomen* was replaced by *Aug(usti)*,

21 Kajava 1994: 90 notes that the numerical *praenomina* of the Romans referred to the month in which a child was born – “a practice created when there were only ten months in the Roman calendar”, and these were only numbered from the fifth. He adds (91) that, even before Roman times, the people of northern Italy used to designate children according to the order of birth, and that the Romans preserved this style only for the female children.

22 In addition to the normalizing identification of female citizens in relation to father, husband, or both, Kajava 1994: 25–26 cites exceptional instances of female designation with reference to the children of the nominated woman: e.g., famously, *CIL* 6.31610 = 10043 = *ILS* 68 = *ILLRP* 336: *Cornelia Africani f. Gracchorum*. There are alternative explanations of the Latinity of the inscription (corresponding to that identifying Cornelia as mother of the Gracchi in Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 4.3) on a large base found in the remains of the *Porticus Octaviae* and associated with the statue of Cornelia recorded by Pliny (*HN* 34.31). See, for instance, Lewis 1988, viewing the statue as satisfying a variety of Augustan desiderata; and the lengthy reply in Kajava 1989, stressing the differentiating factor of the plural *Gracchorum*.

23 For a more detailed survey of the literary evidence, see Chase 1897: esp. 159. Pertinent excerpts from this article are cited in Gordon 1983: 23.

Divi Aug(usti), *Caes(aris) n(ostri)*, or proximate variations of these forms, e.g. *C. Iulius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Actius*: Gaius Iulius Actius, freedman of Augustus (CIL 6.33966). It should be noted that *liberti* not infrequently used a different *praenomen* and occasionally a different *nomen* from that of their former master. Freedwomen took the feminine form of their master's *nomen*, the indicator of manumission, and their slave name, e.g., *Aeidia P. l(iberta) Fausta*: Aeidia Fausta, freedwoman of Publius Aeidius. When the former master was an emperor, the *nomen* was replaced by the emperor's *nomen gentilicium* in feminine form, the designation of imperial ownership – *Aug(usti)*, *Divi Aug(usti)*, or *Caes(aris) n(ostri) liberta* – and her former slave name, e.g. *Iulia Augusti l. Eclog[e]*: Julia Eclog[e], freedwoman of Augustus (CIL 6.19919).

A male slave, enfranchised by a woman, took the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the woman's father and added his slave name, e.g., Marcus Antonius' daughter Antonia freed a slave named Pallas, who was then called M. Antonius Pallas.²⁴ This convention applied when the former mistress was the wife of an emperor or a member of the imperial family, e.g., Menophilus, a former slave of Livia Augusta, daughter of M. Livius Drusus, received the name of *M. Livius Aug(ustae) lib(ertus) Menophilus*: Marcus Livius Menophilus, freedman of Livia Augusta (CIL 6.3939). As we have seen, a female slave, freed by a woman, takes the feminine form of her mistress' father's *nomen*, followed by retrograde C and L. (or LIB.) for *liberta*, and her slave name, e.g. *Grattia D. l(iberta) Stapyle*: Grattia Stapyle, freedwoman of Gaia, i.e., a woman; Antonia's freed slavewoman, Caenis, became Antonia Caenis (Suet. *Vesp.* 3). In inscriptions, the fact that a *libertus* or *liberta* owed his or her freedom to a woman was denoted by D. L., i.e., *G(aiae) liberta/us*. This technical interpretation of retrograde C is confirmed in practice by the fact that its place is sometimes taken by the word *mulieris*, either written in full, or abbreviated (MVL),²⁵ or represented by the retrograde abbreviation, a related subcategory of the semi-otic field under scrutiny.²⁶

Despite the superficial diversity of personal names, it should be clear that the distinctive signifier of the female self is drawn from a syllabus of naturalizing discursive categories: age, kinship group, or family. Each type of

24 Oost 1958: 116 n. 9.

25 E.g., CIL 6.19083: *P(ublius) Granius Felix | minor | || D.D. libert(us) . . .*; 27209: *M(arci) Terenti | mulieris liberti | restituti . . .*

26 Kajava 1994: 109 notes that a *patrona* could also be called by the *nomen*. In addition, CIL 6 contains ca. 260 citations of the term *patrona*. Whether these citations subsume or extend the catalogue of *patronae* explicitly named or represented by retrograde C is impossible to determine.

designation seeks to assign a performative role to the receptive female, namely as an entity in an authority relationship.²⁷ A sister is superordinate or subordinate in filial rank by virtue of birth; a wife is superior or inferior in social status because of the family into which she has been adopted or espoused. In either case, the terms of relationship identify the female as inferior to the ascendant male – the father, brother or husband – who is seen to constitute the denomination. This conception of an engendered identity exposes the “regulatory fiction of sexual coherence” rendered invisible by a dominant discourse with “a deep investment in defining viable subjects”.²⁸

It has been argued that any quantitative survey of praenominal frequency will fail to register the numerically significant absence of the category in the assignation of many women and men. After all, the *tria nomina* of *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen* were denied to free non-citizens and slaves in republican and early imperial Rome.²⁹ In this sense, Roman names can be seen to function as an expression of individual existence and of incorporation into society. In varying ways, names affirmed or denied individual identity by conferring membership or illegitimacy in Roman society and identifying familial ties or kinlessness. Status and family effectively stamped the individual as a participant in the social order, providing the sureties of physical integrity and legal recognition. If not freeborn – an *ingenuus* or *ingenua* – or freed – a *libertus* or *liberta*, in accordance with the regulations in the *lex Aelia Sentia* of 4 CE – then the enslaved woman or man theoretically, and oftentimes practically, lacked any rights or claims. He or she existed without ethnic or national heritage, and lacked any socially acknowledged kin. Deracination and natal alienation were the slave’s inheritance. Arbitrary and objectifying, the identification of the *servus* or *serva* rendered in symbolic terms the relationship between the authority of ownership and the powerlessness of servitude.

However, a statistical analysis of the socio-linguistic field comprising retrograde C in the epigraphic environment of Rome and its environs complicates this apparent congruence of representation and reality. A survey of *CIL*

27 I use the term performative to define the socio-linguistic force of retrograde C as a combination of the abbreviated symbol’s meaning as intended by the commemorator (its illocutionary point or purpose) and the cultural presuppositions and attitudes that accompany the point in its epigraphic context.

28 Butler 1990: 137; 1992: 105. Cf. Kajava 1994: 27: “Whatever her position and standing in society, a freeborn Roman woman normally lacked identity in so far as she did not possess an individualizing *praenomen* (in the way that Roman men did)”.

29 This paragraph owes much to the discussion of formal nomenclature and status indication in Joshel 1992.

6 indicates 1,938 instances of the sign in the nomenclature of freedmen and women. Of these attestations, 521 of the women known as “Gaia” are identified as wives or *contubernales*; 1,333 may be related by kinship, marriage, household, *collegium* or occupation; and 71 conform to the category of unknown or uncertain (*incertae*). Of the individuals displaying retrograde C as a part of their epigraphic identity, 1015 are female, 888 male, and, due to the fragmentary condition of the inscribed surfaces, 35 lack inscribed sex markers. In unprocessed terms, retrograde C appears in 5% of the extant epigraphic *corpus* of Latin inscriptions found in or near the city of Rome.³⁰ Even when we discount inscribed *instrumenta*³¹ from this calculation, the remaining catalogue of private Latin inscriptions preserves this percentage fundamentally intact.³² According to expectation, the majority of citations may be found in the monumental and discrete burial contexts of the *columbarium* and tomb. In other words, they are associated with the commemorative residue of socio-cultural relations – household, patronage, work, marriage, and ritual life – integral to the ancient city.

In determining chronological parameters, the usual textual and extra-textual limitations apply. For senatorial and other upper class women, historical and prosopographical evidence and the use of certain honorific titles help to establish contextually specific *termini post* or *ante quem*. As an instance of the former criterion, of a one-in-five sample population of *patronae* identified personally in *CIL* 6, seven *nomina* referred to specific imperial slave-owners and manumitters,³³ twenty-six were married women of uncertain condition, and forty-six lacked any specific status affiliation or relational indicators. From

30 The total of recorded or extant inscriptions in *CIL* 6.1–4.3 is 39,340. Discarding fragmentary and extra-regional *additamenta*, this figure falls to 36,602. The proportion of inscriptions displaying the sign of retrograde C is more precisely 5.29%.

31 The category of *instrumenta* includes the material traces of extant laws, decrees of the senate, imperial documents, decrees of magistrates, sacred and public documents, private documents, and inscriptions on public works, walls and movable objects. The total of *instrumenta* in *CIL* 6/1.2–5: 1269–3925 numbers 2,656 or approximately 7%. The main categories of the *instrumentum domesticum* of Rome (bricks and tiles, amphorae and other large clay vessels, lamps, bronze stamps) were published by H. Dressel in *CIL* 15.

32 Dedicatory *tituli* comprise 1,830 inscriptions (*CIL* 6/2.7: 8398–10228) or approximately 5% of the total. For a study of the occupational epigraphic record, see Joshel 1990. Votive inscriptions (*CIL* 6/1.1–1268) fill about 3% of the total. The remainder of the corpus consists of monumental (*CIL* 6/2.6: 3926–8397) and sepulchral inscriptions (*CIL* 6/2.8–4.3): 31,474 or almost 85%.

33 Livia, Marcella, Octavia, Antonia, Julia, Messallina, Agrippina. Though non-specific, the general title *Augusta* may be included in this category.

another angle, the large inscription recording the magistrates of local districts (*magistri vicorum*) of the fourteenth urban region (*CIL* 6.975), dated to the year 136 CE, may include sixty instances of retrograde C.³⁴ In terms of historical periodization, the titles of women susceptible to temporal approximation³⁵ most probably date from the late second to mid third centuries CE. As far as linguistic formulae, epigraphic and palaeographic features, aesthetic and material aspects of the inscribed monument and the archaeological context are concerned, only the most approximate limits can be suggested.³⁶

Taking these various considerations into account, it is still possible to aver that identifying slave-owning women by the sign of retrograde C comprised a part of the later mid-Republican epigraphic process and therefore to infer its place in the repertoire of early inscriptional practice.³⁷ In addition, by noting the presence of retrograde C across a range of socio-cultural contexts, we may reasonably adduce its sign as evidence of male and female participation in a broader spectrum of activities and situations than the literary record has

34 *CIL* 6.975.1–7 (Rome, 136 CE): *Imp(eratori) Caesari divi | Traiani Parthici fil(io) | divi Nervae nepoti | Traiano Hadriano | Aug(usto) pontif(ici) maximo | tribunic(ia) potestat(e) xx*. This substantial remainder may still be adduced for the use of retrograde C in libertine nomenclature in public epigraphic space. If we infer thirteen other inscriptions, one for every region of the Hadrianic city, it is reasonable to assume that each represented a percentage of instances of the sign in question. The status of retrograde C as a recognized and recognizable designation for female slaveowners and their dependents may then be retrojected according to its attested usage in earlier epigraphic testimony.

35 E.g., *clarissima, stolata femina*, λαμπροτάτη κρατίστη, and so on; cf. Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: 189; Arjava 1996: 17–35.

36 For discussions of these dating criteria in varying degrees of detail, see e.g., Gordon 1983; Boschung 1987; Sinn 1987; Pflug 1989.

37 E.g., the inscription on a stone *cippus* found at Tusculum (*CIL* 1².1443: *Aed[itui a]edis Ca[st. | et] Pol. ex d. d. | ... M'. Avilius J.L. | Stabilio | ... Anicius P. l. | ... Furius P. l. | ... Plaetorius D. l. | ... Volcacius C. l. | ... mag. fac. coer.*) has been dated ca. 106–92 BCE. *CIL* 6/3.23532 may be dated to 25 June 14 BCE by the calendar entry *vii K(alendas) Iul(ias)* and the names of the consuls, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur and M. Licinius Crassus. The inscription commemorates the burial of *Oppia C(ai) l(iberta)*. It is unlikely that this early extant attestation of retrograde C also represents fortuitously the absolute earliest instance of the practice. Given the literary references to slave-owning women of the possessing and occupational classes during the period of the Republic, the probability of finding retrograde C or abbreviated, inverse, or retrograde MVL. in earlier dedicatory, votive, and sepulchral inscriptions seems strong.

suggested.³⁸ Female slave-owners and the men and women owned and manumitted by them are situated in proprietorial, occupational, collegial, familial, and ritual environments oftentimes at odds with the testimony of literary sources.³⁹

In addition to registering the significant role women played in the system of patronage that operated across Roman society, the use of retrograde C in particular Latin inscriptions draws attention to elements of cultural difference within superficially generic epigraphic discourse. Recall *CIL* 6.37156. *C. Valerius Triari l(ibertus) Phileros accensus, Valeria C(ai) et J. l(iberta) Scurra*, and *C. Valerius C(ai) l(ibertus) Eros*, all bearing *nomina* of the Valerian gens. In addition, each bears the cognominal imprint of servitude: Phileros (“prone to”, or “full of love”), Scurra (“clown”, “jester”), Eros (“desiring love”). These three individuals may be situated within the same familial context without difficulty, given that each bears the mark of a C. Valerius as token of manumitted status. The commemorated deceased is clearly from another household, and derives her *nomen* conventionally from that of her *patrona*. In this instance, Saluta once served, and owes her freedom to, a certain Flaminia; and she may

38 On the *tutela mulierum* and *patronae*, see Gai. *Inst.* 1.190–195c; for the rights and privileges of *patronae*, Gai. *Inst.* 3.49–54.

39 E.g., a seamstress in the *familia Iuniae* (*CIL* 6.9884: *Matia J. l. Prime | sarcinatr. ab sexaris*) and of Julio-Claudian Livia (*CIL* 6.9038: *Fausta Liviae l. Sarcinatr.*); a female doctor under the patronage of a private female (*CIL* 6.9607: *Minerva J. l. Asste*) and a midwife in the *familia* Augusta (*CIL* 6. 9721: *C. Grattius Hilarae opstetricis l. Plocamus*; cf. 6.9721a: *Grattia J. l. | Hilara*); a female barber under the patronage of a *patrona incerta* (*CIL* 6.9941: *Gallania J. l. Paschusa to[n]strix*); a freeborn daughter commemorating her libertine mother in the *monumentum* of the freed *familia* of Nero Drusus (*CIL* 6. 4405: *Tuccia J. l. Anthis | Tuccia Lichnis | matri et libert. | fecit*); a slave-owning husband commemorating the death of his spouse, the manumitted slave of an earlier wife (*CIL* 6.6167: *Genniae J. liber. | Natali C. Valeri[us] sequens fecit | coniugi carissi[mae] benemerenti | de se sibi et suis libert. | liberat[us]q. posterisq. | eorum fecit*); a fourteen-year old female slave under three female owners, all perhaps of the *familia Statiliorum* (*CIL* 6.6576: *Statilia | Capsulae | et J. J. l. Sabina | vix. a. XIII; the libertus of a certain Cornelia, one of two magistri of the collegium of butchers and fisherfolk, dedicating a statue and base to Fortune (CIL 6.167.8: T. Cornel. J. l.); two of four magistri uicorum belonging to the guild of sandal-makers dedicating a large, elegantly carved marble altar to the lares Augusti in the last years of the 1st century BCE (CIL 6.448: D. Oppius J. l. Iaso, D Lucilius D. l. Salvius, L. Brinnius J. l. Princeps, L. Furius L. l. Salvius; cf. 6.761); multiple freed uiatores of female owners cited in fragment of a larger dedicatory inscription (CIL 6.1939: ...]ae J. et C. Titini l. Ch[...]rtio Q. P. l. Clumeno viato[...] Q. Mettio J. l. Primo | Q. Mettio J. l. Anteroti | Q. Mettio J. l. Machioni); three of fourteen attested praecones freed by women (CIL 6.1952.6–9: T. Trebonius J. l. Priamus | M. Viseri Q. et J. l. Licciaei Casida | M. Caedicius J. l. Felix gladiarius); and so on.*

have owed her slave-name to a similar propensity for psychological or physiognomic associations (“wholesome”, “serviceable”).

But in what ways should we “read” Valeria Scurra’s libertine identification? If the retrograde component of her nomenclature was discrete, as with Valeria C. l. Saluta, no problem subsists. But joint patronage (*dominus* and *domina*) blurs the formulaic line of identification. On the one hand, the onomastic template assures us that Scurra is the ex-slave of a Valerian household. In this regard, patriarchal discourse rules. Complementarily, the person identified as the subject of this practice singles out a woman as participating in the practice of slave ownership. Valeria C. et C. l. Scurra is one of four individuals named, explicitly and therefore quite scrupulously, as rightful occupiers of the sepulchral space allotted by the inscription. “No one else,” the text cites, “may be interred in this tomb except those whose names are inscribed above”. No room for doubt or error. Valeria clearly wanted her status as the dependent *cliens* of two patrons, one male, the other female, to be registered in the official, public transcript of this sepulchral commemoration. Lacking identity, then, yet demonstrably integral to the discursive and socio-cultural formation of another member of the extended household, Valeria Scurra’s *patrona*, whether wife or relative of Gaius Valerius, is represented to whichever community the inscription was directed (another question entirely), in *formulae* which presumably lacked our uncertainty but in no uncertain terms situated a woman within the practices of *commemoratio* and *servitus*.

In this regard, compare the following epitaph set up outside Ostia sometime in the second century CE (*CIL* 14.1808):

Dis Manibus Q. Volusi Sp(uri) f(ili) Lem(onia sc. tribu) Anthi. | Parvolus in gremio comunis forte parentis, | dum ludit, fati conruit invidia. | Nam trucibus iunctis bubus tunc forte novel<i>s |⁵ ignarum rector propulit orbe rota<e>. | Maestus uterque parens postquam miserabile funus | fecit <et> infer<i>s munera sum[m]a dedit, | hunc Antho tumulum male deflorentibus annis | pro pietate pari compsuere suo. |¹⁰ Q. Volusius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Anthus pater fecit sibi et Siliae C. l(ibertae) Feliculae | coniugi sanctissimae, Volusiae Q(uinti) f(iliae) Nice, Q(uinto) Volusio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Antho, | Siliae C. l(ibertae) Nice, C(aio) Silio Antho. | In fr(onte) p(edes) vi, in ag(ro) p(edes) III semis).⁴⁰

40 For transcription, translation, and commentary, see Courtney 1995: 182–83 (who, however, incorrectly expands the abbreviation as *Lem(uria)*), 395–96; for editorial apparatus and further commentary, *CIL* 14.1, p. 167; cf. also *CLE* 1059. While the abbreviation “D. M.” has

To the departed spirits of Quintus Volusius Anthus, son of Spurius, of the tribe Lemonia. A little boy, in the protection of a common parent, while he played, fell down by chance by way of the envy of fate. For at that moment, a carter with yoked wild oxen ran over by accident the unknowing child with the rim of a wheel. After the two mourning parents performed the miserable funeral and gave the final gifts as grave-offering, now, to Anthus, as his years fade away wretchedly, they have set up this tomb with equally matched affection to their own. Quintus Volusius Anthus, freedman of Quintus, father, made this for himself and for Silia Felicula, freedwoman of a woman, his chaste wife, for Volusia Nice, daughter of Quintus, for Quintus Volusius Anthus, son of Quintus, for Silia Nice, freedwoman of a woman, for Gaius Silius Anthus. Six feet in frontage, three-and-a-half in depth.

Again, the initial impression is of deeply felt grief, expressed in the expected manner. On closer inspection, the dedication reveals ties between siblings, children, and parents, and wife and husband, which suggest a particular force for the socially marginalized and the personally alienated. In the prose pre-script, “Sp. f.” is the regular way in the late Republican and Imperial periods of indicating a child of illegitimate parentage.⁴¹ Since the illegitimate took their name from their mother, she must have been called Volusia. One might therefore infer that, while Q. Volusius *pater* was still a slave, he had this son by a freedwoman who had been his fellow slave; they were, therefore, fellow-slaves (*conservi*) of the owner Quintus Volusius. The tomb will have been constructed for the boy trampled by oxen; the subscription and the other burials will have been subsequent, and the wife Silia Felicula will not be the mother of this boy.⁴² The Q. Volusius Q. f. Anthus mentioned in the subscription will be a younger son given the same name as his dead half-brother. The identity of the other people mentioned in the subscription remains obscure.

Retrograde C seems to act as a locus of tension between the legitimate social order and the various domains of resistance available to those whose participation was restricted by markers of gender, status, and ethnicity. The deceased son of Spurius is at one and the same time illegitimate in the eyes of a regulatory state, and yet designated by his membership in a Roman *tribus* as a citizen

been identified as a feature of post mid first century CE funerary commemoration, the expression *Dis Manibus* is less easily confined to a specific historical period.

41 Rawson 1989: 30–31 discusses the rare instances of “Spurius” as a *praenomen* associated with middle and upper class families, e.g., the Spurii Carvili, Lucretii, and Postumii.

42 A similar death is recorded in *CLE* 457.

with all that category's constituent rights. His mother Volusia (?) is deemed non-existent for the purposes of family burial, but still receives commemoration in the memorial of her son's *nomen*.⁴³ His younger half-brother Q. Volusius Anthus bears the stamp of a previous union, a present incarnation, and a future genealogy. His stepmother Silia Felicula receives the pertinent laudation and embraces his ambiguous status in her role as idealized wife, for whom a place has been set aside in the family tomb. Much is claimed in this intersection of mourning and self-representation, and needs to be viewed in terms not only of social and political setting, or the medium or nature of presentation, but equally closely with respect to the recipient audience and their culture.

To conclude this brief survey of retrograde C, I offer for consideration a final attestation, from Ostia of the second or third century, which bears directly on the preceding observations (*CIL* 14.299):

*L(ucius) Aquillius | ɔ. l(ibertus) | Modestus, magister | quinquennalis collegi fabroru(m) |*⁵ *tignuariorum Ostiensium lustrī II, | isdem Augustalis fecit sibi et | Aquilliae L(uci) f(iliae) Aptae patronae et | Decimiae Sp(uri) f(iliae) Priscae coniugi suae et | suis libertis libertabus, et Decimiaes Sp(uri) f(iliae) |*¹⁰ *Priscaes posteirisque eorum. | In fr(onte) p(edes) XL, in ag(ro) p(edes) XXXI s(emissem).*

Lucius Aquillius Modestus, freedman of a woman, *magister quinquennalis* of the guild of Ostian builders and carpenters for a second five-year term, the same an *Augustalis*, made this for himself and for Aquillia Apta, daughter of Lucius, his *patrona*, and for Decimia Prisca, daughter of Spurius, his wife, and for his freedmen and freedwomen, and (for the freedmen and freedwomen) of Decimia Prisca, daughter of Spurius, and their heirs. Forty feet in frontage, thirty-one-and-a-half feet in depth.⁴⁴

The dedicant of this inscription is a person of note in the social hierarchy of the Ostian community. L. Aquillius Modestus identifies himself as an official elected to a five-year term in the municipal administration of Ostia (*magister quinquennalis*) – and clearly as an effective magistrate in the role, given his

43 According to Rawson 1989: 39, a citizen child born outside a Roman marriage had “a close relationship with its natural mother”. In *CIL* 14.1808, the material connection is implicitly retained in the attested nomenclature. For a detailed consideration of the status, sex, age, and epigraphic designation of freeborn illegitimates, see Rawson 1989.

44 Lines 3–4: other attestations of the title *magister quinquennalis* include, e.g., *CIL* 6.321, 996; 11.5816; 14.370, 371. Line 6: for nominative form *isdem*, see Sturtevant 1907: 318.

tenure in a second *lustrum*.⁴⁵ As chief magistrate of the *collegium fabrorum et tignuariorum*, Modestus will have presided over the meetings of this corporation of local craftsmen and construction workers. Fascinating to see in the context of the present discussion are not only his self-representation as the freed former slave of a woman (L Aquillius C. I. Modestus) – not an unusual identification in the epigraphic record at Ostia – but also the explicit nomination of his mistress and *patrona*, a certain Aquillia L. f. Apta.⁴⁶ We should also note the care taken by Modestus to register the right to occupancy of this burial plot of both his manumitted dependents and those of his wife Decimia Prisca.

In the published *corpora* of inscriptions found at Rome and Ostia, this double attestation by signifier and name of female ownership and manumission is unique. Over and against the usual citation of inheritance granted to those included in a dedication of this kind, the particularity of former ownership and subsequent patronage obligations expressed in relation to husband and wife is also out of the ordinary. That Prisca belongs to the constituency of illegitimate freeborn persons already encountered in the inscription for Q. Volusius Sp. f. Anthus provides a further interesting corollary to the previous discussion. Taken together, formal acknowledgement by a man of un-free birth – even if (or perhaps in recognition) of a status perceived in terms of an elevated social condition – of dependency on a freeborn woman not simply by means of the regular and readily recognized signifier (C.) but by name and filiation demonstrates the usefulness of retrograde C as a marker of identity and intentionality. Whether speaking to a particular community (the group of persons delimited by the inscription, the broader cross-section of familial relations articulated by reference to a freeborn wife and *patrona*, the guild of builders and carpenters, the Ostian *decurio*, the freeborn and freed of the city), I see this instance of retrograde C as further corroboration of its use (and usefulness) as a signifier of socio-cultural complexity, ambiguity, and contestation within the traditional epigraphic landscape of Roman Italy in the later Republican and early Imperial periods.⁴⁷

45 Royden 1989.

46 Other instances of retrograde C at Ostia: *CIL* 14.310, 358, 394, 395, 439, 571, 717, 746, 748, 767, 815, 1002, 1004, 1073, 1094, 1107, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1138, 1215, 1305, 1311, 1366, 1393, 1434, 1587, 1748, 1761, 1804, 1808 (see above).

47 This underscores the evidence in Mouritsen 2004 for the social marginalization of monument builders at Ostia. At least in the case of *CIL* 14.299, I would disagree, however, that the social profile of the epigraphic landscape at Ostia placed it “beyond the immediate concerns of the local authorities” (p. 288).

Conclusion

The tantalizing questions raised by epigraphic Gaia, in relation to the inscriptions studied here, present us with a fruitful point of entry into how ancient Mediterranean discourse represented and excluded individuals and groups on the margins of Roman society.⁴⁸ First and foremost, if the epitaphs of freeborn, manumitted, and slave alike identify the deceased by their subject position in a relationship of authority – daughter/son, freedwoman/man, female/male slave – why is it that the subordinate individual often identifies her/himself by just that element of control so important to the dominating partner and so much within that person's control? More to the point, why would it be the case that women specifically identified themselves by the symbolism of patriarchal oppression? For what purpose? Second and as germane, if the representation of female identity as Gaia can be viewed in this way, are we able to locate a primary audience for its expression? Should we read in this title women's claims for or against the dominant value system? Did women see through the cultural

- 48 I intend to engage more extensively with retrograde C and the issues its usage raises at a later date. Without comment, I include the textual residue on a bipartite marble tablet belonging to the *monumentum Liviae* (CIL 6.3938–40: Rome, 1st century CE), and append below a micro-prosopography of the interdependent categories of kinship, patronage, occupation, property represented therein and mediated through affiliations of gender, status and kinship:

3938	SABINVS . AVG . L ARCARIVS . OLLAM DEDIT . LIVIAE . TERPNI ET . SATVRNINI . L . SECVDAE (sic)	3939	M . LIVIVS . AVG . L MENOPHILVS . CALC(iator) OLLAM DAT LIVIAE . CHLOE . L . SVAE
3940	LIVIAE . LALAGE . L . M . LIVIVS . SABINVS . F . VXSORI . SVAE . OLLAM DEDIT . EIQVE . LIVIA		LIVIA . MENOPHILI . ET SABINI . L . CHLOE M . LIVIO . SABINO . FIL . SVO OLLAM . DEDIT
5	TERPNI . ET . SATVRNIN LIB . SECVNDA . DEDIT [4] <i>eique</i> : i.e. M. Livius Sabinus f(ilius) [6] Livia Secunda received the <i>olla</i> [3] from her father Sabinus Aug. l <i>arcarius</i> (CIL 6.3938)		5

- (1) Sabinus Aug(ustae) l. *arcarius* (*pater*); (2) M. Livius Aug(ustae) l. Menophilus *calciator*;
(3) Livia Menophili et Sabini l. Chloe; (4) M. Livius Sabinus (*filius*); (5) Livia Lalage l.;
(6) Livia Terpni et Saturnini l. Secunda.

values of the wider society that objectified their position? Are we observing another value system, a subculture of sorts with its own canons?

Complementarily, this discussion belies the fact that a considerable number of inscribed stones incorporating the language of social subordination were set up by clients, friends and relatives to men and women of all social orders for the purpose of publicizing a favour and the recipient's gratitude, exalting the benefactor by emphasizing her or his superiority. These female-male and female-female patron-client dedications imply a need for the modern scholar of such relations to expand the range of social networks, to recognize female participation and influence in hierarchical Roman society, and to extend the ideology of instrumental reciprocal exchange to include women of all social orders. It should be noted that any expansion in the conceptualization of republican and imperial patronage networks will incorporate both of the recognized types of exchange relationship in Roman society – namely, that of benefactor and recipient, who were of sufficiently similar status to make competition for social prestige conceivable; and that of unequal partners, in no way implying that an inferior's *beneficium* to her or his social superior proved the former's ascendancy.

Finally, we can draw out the following implications of our brief study of the use of retrograde C in *CIL* 6.37156, 14.299 and 14.1808. In the first instance, whether abbreviated, engendered, or implicit, the sign seems to have marked a point of discontinuity between the dominant discourse of the Greco-Roman male elite and alternative socio-cultural and historical realities. What we have touched on here is a linguistic category – Gaia, Marcia, Mania, or the generic *mulier* – identifying a specific population – free women, whether freeborn or emancipated – and delimiting relationships that call into question prevalent attitudes and practices – the legitimacy of marriage, claims of paternity, the constant of heterosexual union. The sign of retrograde C provides us with clues to a more complicated picture of the ancient world than the canonical or sanctioned discourses allow. Second, the denomination is significant for its comparative frequency and its location in a variety of social spaces – the humble *amphorae* of the radically poor, the congested niches of dove-cote *columbaria* belonging to respectable contractors and imperial households alike, the monumental tombs of well-heeled freedmen and women and upwardly mobile “new” men and women, and even the burial places of distinguished men and women. These features provide us with an indicator of identity which often transcended notional boundaries of status and embraced the marginalized female population in its variety – slave, freedwoman, mistress; sister, daughter, mother; virgin, celibate adult, bride, woman with only one husband, widow; Roman, Italian, Greek.

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Praefecti Fabrum in the Inscriptions of Roman Corinth

Bradley J. Bitner

“[A]ny sentence beginning ‘The *praefectus fabrum* is’ must be qualified . . . as referring to the type of *praefectus fabrum* under discussion.”¹ So wrote B. Dobson in a 1966 *Festschrift* essay. Dobson’s fundamental study of a post in evidence only from the late Republic through the reign of Septimius Severus made clear that epigraphy constituted the backbone of any research into the *praefecti fabrum* in the Principate. He concluded that the “essence” of the post throughout its history “consisted in its flexibility and its personal relationship to the individual commander.”² While not holding tightly to the traditional view of exclusive military and municipal categories of *praefecti*, Dobson limited his analysis to instances with a military connection.³ He did, however, note in passing the judgment of F. Millar that the non-military prefecture was usually a sinecure.⁴ Two decades later, in what he modestly called “a footnote” to Dobson’s study, D.B. Saddington examined the *praefecti fabrum* of the Julio-Claudian period with specific reference to their diverse functions.⁵ He argued that the social role of the prefecture “links the Italian notable, then the colonial Roman and the prominent provincial, to the equestrian career,”⁶ and that

1 Dobson 1966: 62. The following special abbreviations are used: *EDH* = Epigraphik Datenbank Heidelberg (<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home?lang=en>); *PHI* = Packard Humanities Institute Greek Inscriptions (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main>).

2 Dobson 1966: 78.

3 Dobson 1966: 68–69, “Such careers, with no military posts included, will not be discussed here, as we are concerned with the relationship of the post of *praefectus fabrum* to the military career, and it can be assumed in these cases that either the post was completely honorary or if any duties were exercised they were not of a military nature.” Characteristic of the military-municipal categorization is Liebenam’s treatment in Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.*, s.v. *praefectus fabrum*.

4 Dobson 1966: 64, citing Millar 1963: 196–97.

5 Saddington 1985: 529–46.

6 Like many scholars, in connection with the *praefectus fabrum*, I use the terms “career” and “cursus” in a general sense. The same is true of my usage of “municipal” and “colonial”.

it could encompass judicial, administrative, and building functions in both military and civilian contexts.⁷

More recently, K. Welch reviewed the late Republican evidence for what she termed “this adaptable *praefectura*” in *Chiron*, and that same journal carried Ernst Badian’s pointed response and corrections two years later.⁸ Welch’s study largely corroborated the research of Dobson and Saddington.⁹ She drew the conclusion that the “developing” post was restricted to the *ordo equester* and was strongly linked to the appointing magistrate, who functioned as a patron to the *praefectus* and who determined the duties involved. She characterized these duties as “diverse” and “arduous,” ranging from military and civil engineering to a multipurpose “personal adjutant.” Importantly, Welch re-emphasized the flexible and experimental nature of the post in the late Republic, which, she argued, sketches a framework for understanding its development and diversity in the early Principate.¹⁰

Both the development and diversity of the prefecture are tantalizingly glimpsed in the inscriptions that form the basis for regional studies carried out in the past three decades. In 1984 R. Sablayrolles reviewed four options offered by French scholarship: the *praefectus fabrum* was i) a municipal post at the head of a *collegium* of firefighters, ii) a post providing municipal elites with access to the *ordo equester*, iii) an uncertain post with some municipal and some provincial functions, or iv) a post tied exclusively to a provincial magistrate.¹¹ Sablayrolles re-examined the evidence for Gallia Narbonensis, looking particularly for the placement of the office of *praefectus fabrum* in relation to other *cursus* elements, arguing strongly against seeing it as a municipal post, and concluding that the *praefectura* always refers to a “state” function (*une fonction d’État*). That is, it was conferred by a magistrate upon an important provincial as an entrance to the *ordo equester*, either as a reward for a busy career or as the promise of a successful future.¹²

7 Saddington 1985: 541.

8 Welch 1995: 131–145, at 145; Badian 1997: 1–19.

9 Both studies helpfully summarize the older research, at least from Hirschfeld 1884 and Maué 1887 onward: Dobson 1966: 61–65; Welch 1995: 131 n. 2.

10 Welch 1995: 131, 144–45.

11 Sablayrolles 1984: 239–47 surveys the views of, respectively, Labrousse 1968, Burnand 1975, Gayraud 1981, Pelletier 1982, and Pflaum 1978.

12 Sablayrolles 1984: 244, “. . . la *praefectura fabrum* est bien dans tous les cas la charge honorifique confiée à un notable local par un magistrat *cum imperio* et . . . elle n’est jamais à inclure dans un *cursus* municipal.”; cf. 247. Saddington 1985: 538 also notes that several *praefecti* of Narbonensis seem to have “served the proconsul there.” With other scholars,

E.G. García reached similar conclusions in his 1990 study of Iberian *praefecti*, arguing that the prefecture was a “semi-military” post providing access to an equestrian career, whether municipal or otherwise.¹³ M. Verzár-Bass concentrated on the Italian evidence, with special reference to public building, noting the prevalent connection between *praefecti fabrum* and municipal construction, and arguing that the post frequently involved a superintendancy of the institutions, structures, or events of public life.¹⁴ She noted further that the funerary monuments of post holders are amongst the most prominent in their municipalities, a fact which adds to the sense of the local prestige of these *praefecti*.¹⁵ M.G. Herrero, acknowledging that the post continues to be “una incógnita”, concluded her close study of the *praefecti fabrum* of Lusitania by noting several functions: the prefecture could be an important status marker for *decuriones* whose influence and connections were locally circumscribed; it could provide an avenue to local or provincial promotion for local elites under the protection of a powerful magistrate; it might or might not have a connection with a local *collegium* of laborers; and it could be obtained at the same time as or after holding other magistracies or priesthoods, independently of a municipal *cursus*.¹⁶

In considering this review of views on the function of the *praefectus fabrum* one is struck by the absence of neat categories. Dobson’s dictum, “[A]ny sentence beginning ‘The *praefectus fabrum* is’ must be qualified” rings out all the more sharply. Ever-accumulating epigraphical evidence calls out for further detailed regional studies willing to stretch the traditional boundaries between municipal and provincial *cursus*, between civil and military functions, and between honorific and substantive roles.¹⁷

Sablayrolles suggests that *praefecti fabrum* were assigned their rather customized posts according to their “compétences” and “capacités personnelles.”

- 13 García 1993: 753–66, at 754: “Este cargo, en definitiva, se puede considerar como la incorporación del burgues municipal a las carreras ecuestre o municipal.” I have not been able to gain access to García’s essay on the *praefecti fabrum* of Baetica (1994).
- 14 Verzár-Bass 2000: 197–224.
- 15 Verzár-Bass 2000: 223–24.
- 16 Herrero 2004: 378; cf. Dobson 1966: 76: “the weight of evidence is that the normal *praefectus fabrum* after 69 was a junior, an equestrian who had not yet held military posts.”
- 17 Dobson 1966: 76 agrees with Bloch 1903: 115 that we can always assume “confusion would be avoided between the municipal and state posts”, but it is unclear exactly what this means. If Dobson means that the *praefecti* and inhabitants of local *coloniae* and *municipia* would not have been confused about the roles assigned to the post holders, then my inclination is to agree. If, however, he means that the *praefectura* always fell neatly into either a “municipal” or “state” category, then I believe the evidence of Corinth, at least,

Julio-Claudian *praefecti fabrum* exhibit perhaps the most adaptability of any period: they may or may not have had a function related to local public works, may or may not have been connected to a provincial magistrate, and may or may not have fulfilled their term in the local context where they were later commemorated. Service as the assistant of a higher magistrate is the *sine qua non* of the post. Beyond that, generalities and precision are elusive. Most agree that the primary confounder for understanding the scope of the post in this period, in contrast to the late Republic, is the absence of specificity concerning the magistrate under whom they serve.¹⁸ The general consensus of the best studies is that a prefecture is military if embedded in a military *cursus*; municipal if associated – either as an initial gateway into an equestrian career or as a crowning honorific post after holding other municipal liturgies (whether sinecure or substantive) – with a strictly municipal *cursus*; or ambiguous if part of a “mixed” *cursus*.¹⁹ In this half-light, then, let us turn to an initial inspection of the evidence for the *praefectus fabrum* in the inscriptions of early Roman Corinth.

The Corinthian *Praefecti Fabrum*

In the same year as Dobson's essay, John Harvey Kent published his volume of Corinthian inscriptions for the American School.²⁰ In it are four *praefecti fabrum*, by Kent's reckoning, two Augustan, one post-Tiberian, and one Claudian/Neronian. Only the last, Ti. Claudius Dinippus, who has a military connection and multiple honorific inscriptions, is mentioned in other studies of the post. As far as I am aware, none of the others has ever figured in research on the prefecture, nor has anyone ever examined the position in Corinth or Achaia. Kent translates the title *praefectus fabrum* as “praefect of constructions” (131) or “chief engineer” (152, 156, 158). His understandably laconic treatment of the prefecture suggests to a reader a rather uniform understanding of the office as a local one always related to public construction. In what follows I will question this assumption by laying out the evidence for the four Corinthian

challenges that view. Despite additional data and regionally specific studies, research of the last century has not significantly altered any of the conclusions of Kornemann's thorough review, *RE* 1909 s.v. *fabri*, esp. cols. 1921–1924.

18 E.g., Dobson 1966: 67.

19 Dobson's qualifications (1966: 65) must be kept in mind: if the post precedes other military posts, he thinks it is probably “junior and civil.”

20 *IKorKent*.

praefecti in the order they appear in Kent, noting several unsolved problems, and suggesting an emendation to *IKorKent* 132 that would increase their number to five.²¹

Q. Granius Bassus (*IKorKent* 131 = *IKorWest* 212; *PIR*² G 207, 208), Augustan?

[Q(uintus) Gr]anius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Bassus, p[rocurator] Aug(usti),
 [ei]usdem comes, praef(ectus) fa[brum]
 [— — —] VM de balıneφ IM[— — —]
 [— — — — —] NE · M[— — — — —]
 [— — — — — — — — — — —]

5

Bassus, who dedicated a bath to the colony at his own expense, was also the dedicator in the enigmatic *IKorKent* 130.²² Quite possibly connected to the *Granii* who are known to have been *negotiatores* on Delos and elsewhere, he is the only Corinthian *praefectus fabrum* linked explicitly to public works construction.²³ Kent dated this inscription to the reign of Augustus on the basis of letter forms and argued for the likelihood of identifying the Corinthian figure with the Q. Granius who accused Calpurnius Piso of *maiestas* in 24 CE.²⁴

21 The prosopographical data in the following draws on the works of Demougin 1988, Demougin 1992, and Spawforth 1996.

22 *Coloni*[ae] *I*(audi) | *Iuliae* | *Corinthiensī* | *Q(uitus) Granius Q(uiti) f(ilius)* | *Bassus s(ua) p(ecunia) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* | *proc(urator) Aug(usti)*. This stone (*IKorKent*, pl. 15) presents two puzzles: 1) why is the post of *praefectus fabrum* (as well as Granius Bassus's status as *comes Augusti*) not mentioned? Assuming, with Demougin 1992, no. 501 that *IKorKent* 131 gives his posts "en ordre inverse," did Bassus choose to emphasize only his title of *procurator Augusti* on this particular dedication to the colony? Or did he serve as *procurator* first and later as *praefectus fabrum* to the Achaian governor? Or should we take his *praefectura* together with *procurator* and *comes* and understand that he served as Augustus's right-hand-man in Achaia? 2) As Kent noted, this stone, which he described as both a "statue base" and a monument dedication, was damaged at some point by fire and preserves significant traces of an earlier (Latin) inscription. Why would such a dedication reuse so sloppily a limestone block that had previously been inscribed? Could the later fire damage have rendered the first inscription more visible? The bath dedicated by Bassus remains unidentified: no firm link can be drawn between the fragments of *IKorKent* 131, found in the South Stoa and the Julian Basilica, and any known bath in the *territorium* of Corinth.

23 For possible family connections, see Spawforth 1996: 172, citing Hatzfeld 1919: 392–93 and the Augustan Grania Quinta of *IKorWest* 65.

24 Tac. *Ann.*, 4.21: *Pisonem Q. Granius secreti sermonis incusavit adversum maiestatem habiti, adiecitque in domo eius venenum esse eumque gladio accinctum introire curiam. quod ut atrocius vero tramissum; ceterorum, quae multa cumulabantur, receptus est reus neque*

Demougín, however, regards the identification as unpersuasive and places him in the reign of Claudius, taking him as an *eques* who bypassed the military *cursus* to accede to the post of *procurator* and the status of *comes Augusti*.²⁵

It does not appear that Bassus readily fits Dobson's military examples of *praefecti fabrum*; he probably served in either a colonial or provincial post. It is possible to see him as a Corinthian from a family of Italians dating from the early days of the colony who had business interests in the region.²⁶ Did his family connections provide an avenue for Bassus to attach himself to the provincial governor as a right hand man based in the Achaian assize center? Did he later ascend to the circle of imperial *comites*? His procuratorial post provides an interesting parallel to that of his service as *praefectus fabrum*, both assisting a higher magistrate.²⁷ But the combination of the two is as rare as their respective duties are obscure.²⁸ Bassus is not recorded as having held any specifically colonial magistracy.

Ultimately, I prefer with Kent to see Granius Bassus as an Augustan or Tiberian figure and to read his *cursus* (*contra* Demougín) in the order presented in *IKorKent* 131.²⁹ This seems to make more sense of the omission of *praefectus fabrum* in *IKorKent* 130 and, in the absence of exact *comparanda*, fits

peractus ob mortem opportunam. Dr. P. Keegan points out that, even as an 'unsuccessful' *delator*, Q. Granius, according to the law of *maiestas*, would have become a *quadruplator*, obtaining one fourth of the goods of the accused at his death, a circumstance which would imply significant resources for the Corinthian Granius if the two Granii are identified.

- 25 Demougín 1992: 413–14. As a notable exception to the *equestrian* rule, L. Cornelius Balbus (Münzer, *RE* 4.2, 1901, 1260, no. 69), the *praefectus fabrum* of Caesar, was a well-connected adjutant who ascended to senatorial status. Could the early Augustan period have allowed for a similarly spectacular rise in fortune for some like Granius Bassus? Cf. Welch 1995: 135–36.
- 26 Demougín 1992: 413–14; Spawforth 1996: 172, 177.
- 27 For other *procuratores* in the Corinthian inscriptions, see *IKorKent* 132–148. I am not aware of any specific studies of Achaian *procuratores*. Important general studies include those of Sherwin-White 1939, Pflaum 1960–61, Saller 1980, and Demougín 1988.
- 28 The closest parallels, *AE* 1954.140 and *AE* 1955.151, ll. 3–6, record an unidentified *prae[fecto fabrum ---] | delat[o a co(n)s(ulibus) tribuno] | milit(um) [leg(ionis) ---] | proc(uratori) A[ug(usti)...]* of unknown date from Hippo Regius in Africa Pronconsularis; *CIL* 3.2075 preserves a L. Antonius Firmus from Saloniae in Dalmatia who was *aedile, IIIvir i.d., praef. fabr.*, and *proc. Aug.* See also *AE* 1991.1749; *AE* 1977.241; *AE* 2001.1993; *AE* 1975.849.
- 29 This also allows us, with Kent, to suppose the Quintus Granius made his way to Rome in the reign of Tiberius and there denounced L. Calpurnius Piso. As an equestrian *comes Augusti*, Granius joins C. Crepereius Gallus (*AE* 1964.173) and perhaps Ti. Iulius Pappus (Demougín 1992: no. 489; *AE* 1960.26) as examples of more recent evidence calling for a

better within the pattern of pre-Claudian *praefecti*. We might imagine Bassus based in Corinth, exercising a provincial administrative function. This possibility would not exclude his supervision of colonial public works projects. It may be that in Granius Bassus we have a prime example of the blurred lines between military, provincial, and municipal contexts of the early imperial *praefectus fabrum*.³⁰

Q. Fab[ius] Q. f. Carpetanus (*IKorKent* 132; *CIL* 3.6098; 6.1881; 3.7271; *PIR*², F 24), Augustan?

In connection with the Granius Bassus inscriptions it is worth mentioning the possibility that the immediately following *IKorKent* 132, which preserves the *cursus* of another *procurator Augusti* – this time with the additional *provinciae Achaiae* – could quite possibly be emended to provide a fifth Corinthian *praefectus fabrum*. This is Q. Fabius Carpetanus, whom Demougin unconvincingly reads as Calpetanus, disregarding Kent's judgment that "the third letter is definitely R."³¹ Besides being *procurator*, Carpetanus was also *curator* of the Nomentanum road, military tribune, and a *praefectus* of some sort. Kent's restoration was *praefectus equitum*, but on the basis of Dobson's examples and the local concentration of *praefecti fabrum*, I propose it is at least as plausible to restore Carpetanus as a fifth Corinthian example of a *praefectus fabrum*, the second who was also *procurator*.

Sex. O[lius L. f.] A[e]m. Secu[ndus] (*IKorKent* 152), Augustan?

Sex(to) O[lio L(uci)f(ilio)] A[e]m(ilia)
 Secu[ndo, p]raef(ecto)
 fabr(um), theocol(o) Iovis
 [Ca]p[it]ol(ini), aedilic(iis) et
 [I]vir(alibus) e]t qu[in]q(uennalibus) et 5
 ag[ono]t[heti]c(is) orna-
 ment[is] d(ecreto) [d(ecurionum) o]rnatō.
 Sex(tus) Olius Sex(ti)f(ilius) Aem(ilia) Procu-
 [lus et] Corneli[a M(arci)] [f(ilia)]

rethinking of the conclusions of Sherwin-White 1939: 19, who seems to suggest that *procuratores* were not among the *comites Augusti*.

30 Sherwin-White 1939: 12 cites Hirschfeld 1904: 382–85, who argues for a distinction between *procuratores* whose duties were financial and "praesidial procurators" whose duties were more flexible and who could be name *praefecti*.

31 Demougin 1992: 411–12 appeals to the existence of other figures with the name Calpetanus but does not mention having autopsied the stone examined closely by Kent (and which is poorly visible in pl. 12). I have not yet been able to autopsy this stone.

[*Procula*(?) *Secundi uxor*], *pos*[*t*] 10
 [*obitum*].³²

The second certain post holder in Corinth is the otherwise unknown Sextus Olius Secundus, *IKorKent* 152. First, Sextus Olius is probably another from a family who had business interests in the area and whose tribe, Aemilia, is well attested among the Corinthian elite.³³ Second, if this inscription, erected by his son and wife, is read as a direct *cursus*, then the initial element of *prae-fectus fabrum* may provide evidence for the type of early career boost noted in other regional studies of the Latin West.³⁴ Alternatively, Olius's family may have chosen to emphasize the honor of his prefecture by having it placed first, an interpretive option strengthened by the fact that the post, along with his title as *theocolus* of Jupiter Capitolinus, is epigraphically distinct from his apparently posthumous colonial honors.³⁵ Ultimately, the questions of dating Secundus and of the nature of his prefecture remain difficult to answer. Kent, who argued for an Augustan date purely on the basis of letter forms, noted correctly that Olius Secundus, if Augustan, implied an early return of the Isthmian games to Corinthian control. The matter of dating their return still occasions debate, a debate in which the possibility of provincially connected Corinthian *praepecti fabrum* such as Olius Secundus and Arrius Proculus might provide another strand of evidence to consider.³⁶

A. Arrius [.] f. Aem. Proc[u]lus (*IKorKent* 156), 39 CE

A(ulo) Arri[o .f(ilio)]
 Aem(ilia) Proc[lo],
 auguri, praef[fecto] fabr(um),
 aed(ili), Ilvir(o), sace[rdoti]
 Neptuni Aug(ustali), [isagog(eo)] 5

32 Demougin 1992: 159 suggests expanding the POS of *l. 10* to *pos(uerunt)* rather than Kent's *pos[t obitum]*.

33 Spawforth 1996: 172, citing Hatzfeld, "Olii de Délos," *BCH* 36, 60–62.

34 Cf. e.g. Sablayrolles 1984; García 1993. Demougin 1992: 158 argues that Olius set off on an equestrian career path with his post as *prae-fectus fabrum* but failed to follow through and settled for local Corinthian honors. Kent points out that the "Cornelian gens, to which Secundus' wife belonged, was very prominent in Corinth during the reign of Augustus."

35 The honorific colonial *cursus* is bracketed in *ll. 4–7* by the text: ET...ORNAMENTIS D(ecreto) [D(ecurionum) O]RNATO. It is possible that Olius Secundus was decorated with these colonial honors while alive, even concomitant with his *prae-fectura*; cf. Dobson 1966: 72.

36 See, e.g., Kajava 2002: 168–78.

Tibereon Augu[steon]
Caesareon et ag[onoth(ete)]
Isthmion et Caes[areon]
Hieromnemo[nes]
Caesareon.

10

If any of the Corinthian *praefecti fabrum* seems to suggest the supervision of a local *collegium fabrum*, the early Claudian A. Arrius Proculus comes closest. His post is listed second out of seven items in his *cursus* and each of the others is standard Corinthian fare for local elites. There is, however, no evidence for the existence of such a *collegium* at Corinth. It is more plausible, therefore, that the post held by Arrius Proculus is provincially oriented and more closely fits the type identified by other regional studies as an entry into the equestrian order and accompanied by a municipal *cursus*. Why it falls in the order it does remains an open question. One final hypothesis worth mentioning concerns Proculus's service as *isagogeus*, which Robert and others have taken to be an assistant to the Corinthian *agonothete*.³⁷ If there was indeed such a "right-hand-man" post in relation to the colonial games, perhaps there could also have been an assistant post attached to a colonial liturgy such as that of aedile.³⁸ This, as so much about the *praefectus fabrum*, remains speculative, but may account for the order of the *cursus* in *IKorKent* 156.

Ti. Claudius P. f. Fab. Dinippus (*IKorKent* 158, 159, 161, 162, 163; *IKorWest* 86–90), Claudian/Neronian

Ti(berio) Claudio P(ubli)f(ilio) [Fab(ia)]
Dinippo, Ilvir[o, Ilviro]
quinq(uennali), augur[i, sacerd(oti)]
Victoriae Brit[ann(icae), trib(un)o]
mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Hisp[anae],
praef(ecto) fabr(um) III, an[non(ae) cur(atori)]
agonothete Ner[oneon Cae]-
sareon et Isthm[ion et Caes(areon)],
tribules tr[ibus]
 [– – – – – – –]

5

10

37 L. Robert, *Rev. Philol.*, 55 (1929), 142; cited in Demougin 1992: 280.

38 Dr. C. Concannon first made this suggestion to me in personal conversation.

Ti. Claudius Dinippus, attested multiple times in both *IKorWest* and *IKorKent*, provides a final and interesting case. The exact chronology of his career is difficult to establish and continues to be contested.³⁹ I limit myself to two points: first, an apparently rare epigraphical error by Kent in no. 158 has led to many scholars incorrectly seeing Dinippus as three times curator of the grain supply and not three times *praefectus fabrum*.⁴⁰ Even digital editions of the Corinthian inscriptions vary in their association of the numeral III by means of commas.⁴¹ In *IKorWest* 87 and several other inscriptions, the III is clearly separated from both neighboring posts by interpuncts and is properly associated with the preceding *praefectus fabrum* by epigraphic convention and especially by comparison with other examples of that very post held multiple times elsewhere.⁴² Spawforth, Dobson, and West all concur on this point.⁴³

Second, most scholars have worked with a composite *cursus* for Dinippus (the one reproduced above), combining the readings of ten inscriptions. Epigraphically, it is more sound to take each stone on its own merits, closely noting archaeological context and taking seriously differences amongst the attested *cursus*. For example, *IKorWest* 86 clearly presents the *cursus* of Dinippus in a way that differs from all other stones, especially the reasonably complete *IKorWest* 87.

39 Most recently, and representative of interest in Dinippus among students of early Christianity, Danylak 2008: 231–70; Demougin 1992: 508, “il reste difficile d’établir une chronologie exacte des étapes de la carrière.”

40 See Danylak 2008: 242–44, for a likely explanation.

41 Compare the *PHI* edition of *IKorKent* 162, where there is a comma dissociating the III from the *praef. fabr.*, with the edition at *EDH*, containing no commas.

42 Intriguing examples: *CIL* 10.4862 (Venafrum), the Augustan-Tiberian M. Vergilius Terentius Gallus Lusius was *praef. fabr. III trib. mil.* in a clearly military context; *AE* 1959.284 (Saepinum, 1st c.), P. Numisius Ligus was *trib. mil. leg. III Aug. praef. fabr. xv* and *patronus municipi*; *AE* 2002.662 [= *CIL* 2.2479 = 5617] (Salacia in Lusitania, early 1st c.), L. Cornelius Bocchus, whose service as *praef. fabrum* is listed between that as *flamen provinciae* and *trib. mil.*; *AE* 1973.501 (Tuzla, Troad, 22 CE). C. Fabricius Aniensis was *praef. fabr. III* as well as *praef. . . operum quae in colonia iussu Augusti facta sunt* and also *trib. mil.* Danylak 2008: 244 n. 73, offers a list of references without analysis.

43 Spawforth 1996: 177 asserts that Dinippus was “an eques who served as military tribune in Spain and three times as *praefectus fabrum* of the proconsul, as well as holding high colonial office.” Although likely, I have not yet seen evidence that assures me of this description of his *praefectura*.

IKorWest 86

Ti(berio) Claudio P(ubli) f(ilio)
Fab(ia) Dinippo
Ilvir(o) Ilvir(o) quinq(uennali) augur(i),
sacerdoti Victoriae
Britann(icae), trib(un)o mil(itum)
leg(ionis) VI,
annonae curatori,
agonothete Neroneon
Caesareon et Isthmion
et Caesareon, tribules
tribus Atiae.

IKorWest 87

Ti(berio) Claudio P(ubli) f(ilio)
 [*Fab(ia)*]
Dinippo, Ilvir[o, Ilviro]
quinq(uennali), augur[i, sacerdoti]
Victoriae Brit[ann(icae), trib(un)o]
 5 *mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Hisp[anae],* 5
prae(fecto) fabr(um) III, an[non(ae)]
cur(atori)]
agonothete Ner[oneon Cae]-
sareon et Isthm[ion et Caes(areon)],
tribules tr[ibus]
 [- - - - - - -] 10

While the omission of *Hisp[anae]* in *IKorWest 86* as the specification of Dinippus's legion may be insignificant, the lack of *prae(fecto) fabr(um) III* is not. It is possible that this was a stonemason's mistake, but it is also possible Dinippus served his prefecture at the end of an illustrious *cursus*, an end not yet reached in *IKorWest 86*.⁴⁴ Matters are further complicated if the small fragment *IKorKent 234*, with the same lettering style as the other stones, is taken to refer to Dinippus.⁴⁵

IKorKent 234

[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
 [- - - - - - - -] ++ [- - - - - - - - - - -]
 [- - praef(ect -) fa]b[rum, ann[onae cur(ator -) - -]
 [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

44 Dobson 1966: 74 appears to favor a version of this thesis, one that he attributes, at n. 51, to J.C. Mann's suggestion (*per litteras?*) that, "after holding his tribunate under Nero, acting as *curator annonae*, and supervising the games under that emperor, [Dinippus] was invited to serve as prefect to the newly restored proconsul of Achaia under Vespasian, an appropriate office for a prominent citizen of Corinth."

45 Other Corinthian fragments that might be restored to read *praefectus fabrum* include *IKorKent 203*, l. 3; 235, l. 2; 387, l. 2; 454, l. 1.

IKorKent 234 also juxtaposes *praefectus fabrum* and *annonae curator* but with no III at all. Furthermore, it was discovered in the eastern area of the Theater, far from the other Dinippus inscriptions, which cluster around the SE corner of the Corinthian Agora. Perhaps it refers to another man, or possibly it reflects a stonecutter's error. More plausibly, it offers a glimpse of Dinippus being honored in the midst of his serving as *praefectus fabrum* multiple times. This appears to be attested elsewhere.⁴⁶

The lex Ursonensis and Achaian Provincial Status

Taking seriously the fact that *IKorKent* 234, which may refer to Dinippus, was found in the Corinthian Theater raises two ancillary observations. The *lex Coloniae Genetivae*, one of the Spanish municipal charters preserving the Caesarian template of Corinth's colonial constitution, contains a reference to the *praefectus fabrum* in chapter 127.⁴⁷

RS 1 25 (*lex Coloniae Genetivae*), Ch. 127

CXXVII | quicumque ludi scaenici c(oloniae) G(enetivae) I(uliae) fient ne
quis in or|chestram ludorum spectandor(um) causa praeter mag(istratum)
| prove mag(istratu) p(opuli) R(omani) quive i(ure) d(icundo) p(raeerit)
[e]t si quis senator p(opuli) R(omani) est erit | fuerit et si quis senatoris
f(ilius) p(opuli) R(omani) est erit fuerit et si | quis praef(ectus) fabrum eius
mag(istratus) prove magistrat(um) | qui provinc(iarum) Hispaniar(um)
ulteriorem {Baeticae pra(e)|erit} optinebit erunt et quos ex h(ac) l(eg)e
decurion(um) loco | <d(ecreto)> decurion(um) sedere oportet oportebit
praeter eos | qui s(upra) s(cripti) s(unt) ne quis in orchestra ludorum
spectan|dorum causa sedeto neve quisque mag(istratus) prove mag(istratu)
| p(opuli) R(omani) q(ui) i(ure) d(icundo) p(raeerit) ducito neve quem quis
sessum ducito | neve in eo loco sedere sinito uti q(uod) r(ecte) f(actum)
e(sse) <v(olet)> s(ine) d(olo) m(alo).

Whatever stage shows shall take place for the colonia Genetiva Iulia, no-one in the *orchestra* in order to watch the shows, except a magistrate or promagistrate of the Roman people, or whoever shall be in charge

46 Perhaps most intriguingly in *AE* 2001.1918–1920, the varying *cursus* of C. Caristianus Fronto Caesianus Iullus (*PIR*² C 425) and the quite different associations, order, and numerals with his *praefectura fabrum*.

47 Text and translation from Crawford, RS 1 25. Characteristic of appeals to the *lex Genetivae* as evidence for *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* are the recent essays by Walbank 2010: 153 and Walters 2010: 343–44.

of jurisdiction, and whoever is or shall be or shall have been a senator of the Roman people, and whoever is or shall be or shall have been a son of a senator of the Roman people, and whoever shall be a *praefectus fabrum* of that magistrate or promagistrate who shall hold the further of the Spanish provinces {shall be in charge of Baetica}, and for whomever it is or shall be appropriate to sit according to this statute 'by decree' of the decurions in the place of the decurions – except those who are written down above, no-one is to sit in the *orchestra* in order to watch the shows, nor is any magistrate or promagistrate of the Roman people or whoever shall be in charge of jurisdiction to lead (them) nor is anyone to lead anyone to sit nor is anyone to let anyone sit in that place, as he shall <deem> it proper, without wrongful deceit.

Any holder of the post is reserved privileged seating in the theater, together with other provincial and local notables.⁴⁸ The municipal charters seem to assume that *praefecti fabrum* were expected to be present in Caesarian foundations, that they were connected to provincial magistrates, and that they might be involved as municipal or colonial patrons. These considerations provide important context for the Corinthian *praefecti*.

Additionally, the archaeological context of Kent 234 is a reminder that more work must be done to consider the findspot(s) and associated monuments of each Corinthian inscription mentioning the *praefectus fabrum*. Verzar-Bass provides a partial model for how this might be done.⁴⁹ Further insight might also come from carefully noting phases and specific monuments of colonial public works construction attested in the Augustan, Tiberian, and Claudian eras.⁵⁰ Finally, taking into account the fluctuating provincial status of Achaia in the same period and of Corinth as the *caput provinciae* might help to nuance, or to expand, our assumptions as to the duties and roles of the Corinthian *praefecti*.

48 Chs. 125–27 of the *lex Genetivae* deal with privileged seating. Ch. 81 of the Flavian *lex Irnitana* upholds formerly observed seating privileges by the groupings in earlier statutes but does not explicitly mention the *praefecti fabrum* or other magistrates; for the latter, see text, translation, and commentary in Gonzalez and Crawford 1986: 147–243.

49 Verzar-Bass 2000.

50 Although this would require careful work, contours of such building phases are evident in various publications related to the Corinth excavations: see d'Hautcourt 2001: 427–38.

Conclusions

In conclusion, there does not seem to be any evidence for a Corinthian *collegium fabrum*. What we find instead are suggestions, hints of more permeable boundaries between the military, the provincial, and the colonial roles of the *praefectus fabrum* in the Corinthian inscriptions. A close, contextual examination of each stone and comparison with thorough region by region studies of the post in the Greek provinces is a *desideratum*.⁵¹ “The *praefectus fabrum* [of Roman Corinth] is . . .” remains a sentence difficult to complete, a reminder of the limits of epigraphy. Despite the relatively high concentration of epigraphic evidence for the post in Julio-Claudian Corinth, the literary sources from Augustus onward are frustratingly silent.

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⁵¹ This would also update and nuance the lexicons of Magie 1905: 26 and Mason 1974: 138, both of whom give *ἐπαρχος τεχνιτῶν* and *ἐπαρχος ἀρχιτεκτόνων* as practical synonyms for *praefectus fabrum*.

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The Rituals of *Hospitium*: The *Tesserae Hospitalis*

John Nicols

APPIO IVNIO SILANO P. SILIO
 NERVA COS.
 TILLEGVS AMBATI F. SVSARRVS
 ((*castello*)) AIOBRIGIAECO HOSPITIVM
 FECIT CVM LOVGEIS CASTELLANIS 5
 TOLETENSIBVS SIBI VXORI LIBE=
 RIS POSTERISQVE SVIS EVMQ=
 VE VXOREM LIBEROSQVE EIVS
 IN FIDEM CLIENTELAMQVE SVA=
 M SVORVMQVE IN PERPETVO CAS= 10
 TELLANEI TOLETENSIS RECEPERVNT
 EGIT TILLEGVS AMBATI IPSE
 MAG. LATINO ARI ET AIO TEMARI
 (AE 1961, 96 = 2000, 748)¹

Historians, both ancient and modern, assume that Romans interacted constructively with peregrines in ways that both parties understood. A central component of this interaction, and the basis of peaceful intercourse between people of different ethnic groups, was built around the practice of *ius hospitalis*.

Hospitium is one of those institutions that all claim to recognize. Yet it is a striking phenomenon in modern scholarship how little attention has been devoted to a systematic analysis of the expectations and rituals associated with the practice of *hospitium* in the Roman world. Mommsen's study remains even today central to any assessment. Only a very short article appeared in the *RE*.² Occasional studies of the use of *hospitium* in Cicero and in Livy have been published more recently and are listed in the Selected Bibliography to this article. Moreover, and thanks to the development of metal detectors, a good number of *tesserae* and *tabulae hospitalis* have been uncovered over the last

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- 1 For a photo and further bibliography, see *HispEp* 6435 (http://eda-bea.es/pub/record_card_2.php?rec=6435).
 - 2 Mommsen 1864 remains the most important contribution to the study of *hospitium*. The *RE* article by Leonhard (1913) offers a brief overview.

quarter century. These latter especially have provided important insight into the practice.³

The evidence for the central period of Roman history (as distinct from the episodes described in Livy and dating to the earliest history of the city) is peculiar, though hardly unique. Between Caesar and Tacitus we have a good number of references to the practice of *hospitium*. We also have a considerable body of epigraphical evidence, especially from Spain.

Because *hospitium* in the narrow sense of the word involves the interaction between Romans and peregrines, it is appropriate to speak of experiences on the “frontier”. For our purposes here and in reference to the “frontier” I wish to stress up-front that I understand “frontier” in two senses, geographical and psychological. First, it refers to geographical space, to that area where Romans and peregrines interacted on the borders of the Roman sphere of influence. Conventionally, but depending on circumstances, this frontier might be in central Italy or in a military district. Even so, “borderland” must be understood broadly to refer to areas that were “more or less” or sometimes also “rather less than more” under Roman control. The “frontier” may also be construed as psychological space, as a component of the intellectual and moral framework within which Romans and peregrines interacted, regardless of where they were physically.

In this paper, relying on both the literary and especially on the epigraphical evidence, I intend to develop a case for understanding more precisely how *hospitium* facilitated exchange and understanding on the Roman frontier.

Towards a Definition

The conventions surrounding the social institution called *hospitium* (“guest-friendship”) by the Romans provided a means by which members of different communities, acting as individuals or as a collective, found a way to interact with one another to the mutual advantage of both parties; the alternative, hostility, inevitably led to the disadvantage of one, if not of both parties. Though it cannot be explicitly demonstrated from the extant sources, there are many indications that the practice of hospitality, in many forms, was ubiquitous in the ancient world, and that it was universally viewed in a positive light. Indeed, the conventions surrounding hospitality were probably critical in the mitigation of conflict generally.

3 On the status of bronze inscriptions, recent discoveries, and distribution, see the important article by Werner Eck in this volume.

Now, we must first of all realize that the word *hospitium* covers a range of meanings. So, for example, in reference to the earliest events in Roman history, the sources generally refer to *hospitium* in the context of social connections established between *individuals* of different states. We may call this kind of relationship *hospitium privatum* (private hospitality). In practice, this entailed some kind of explicit agreement between the two parties to offer amenities (lodging, entertainment) to a visitor, but also to provide legal protection for the person and for his property. It is implicit in these relationships that the parties, though of different communities, are of roughly equal social status, and that each should be capable of offering similar services to the other. During the course of the Republic, these private arrangements also acquired a public dimension, in that one of the partners to the arrangement was a *collective*. Hereafter, this form will be referred to as *hospitium publicum* (public hospitality). During the last decades of the Republic, and perhaps connected to the extension of citizenship to all Italians, *hospitium* was applied to include “hospitable” arrangements even between Roman citizens.⁴ In late antiquity *hospitium* primarily referred to the compulsory quartering of soldiers. Despite the variations listed here, there is ample evidence that the word continued to be used in the traditional sense throughout Roman history, i.e., with respect to friendly relationships involving any combination of individuals or collectives (clan, tribe, *natio*, etc.).

The Nature of the Evidence

References to traditional *hospitium* appear throughout Latin literature, and they continue well into the Principate. The epigraphical evidence is also extensive, but unevenly distributed, geographically and chronologically. Some inscriptions referencing *hospitium* are found in all periods of Roman history in Italy and North Africa, but few in the Rhine/Danube areas. The Iberian Peninsula is the most important single source of material. A good number of the inscriptions originating there (and in Gaul) were written in Keltiberic languages and involve individuals with Keltic names. Such evidence, and the statement of Tacitus that the practice of *hospitium* was also a critical component in interstate and interpersonal relations among the Germans (*Ger.* 21.2), leads to the conclusion that the institution was already well established here (and presumably) elsewhere before the Romans arrived.

4 Cic. *Balb.* 43 suggests that Balbus, now a Roman citizen, was considered the *hospes* of his home town of Gades – that is, Balbus retained the affection of his home state and defended its interests as *sanctissimum hospitum*.

On the Initiation of the Relationship

Hospitium is extended by a formal invitation, by a decree of the local senate if it is public, or by an individual who offers lodging, victuals, and protection, if it is in the private sphere. In both cases, the formula is clear (respectively): *vocare in hospitium* (to offer hospitality; Liv. 24.16.16), *eum domum suam invitare* (to invite someone into his home; Ver. 2.2.89). A token (*tessera*, or later a *tabula*) might be prepared to commemorate the occasion.⁵ The event might also be marked by the formal exchange of gifts, or by sacrificing and consuming an animal (cf. Stat. Ach. 1.843: *munera . . . signum hospitii*). Alternatively, a political alliance might also complement *hospitium publicum*; for example, Caesar indicates that the Aedui enjoyed the *hospitium amicitiaque populi Romani* (Gal. 1.31).

How was the relationship initiated? As units of the Roman army progressed in the field and as caravans of traders proceeded to markets, they had daily needs. Among them were to find water and fodder for their animals as well as campsites or secure places to spend the night. Both groups needed to gain access to local markets. Certain places lent themselves well to these needs, and it is understandable that senior Roman soldiers and experienced traders not only knew which locations were most suitable, but also knew something about the locals who provided the services. I suspect that the connections were formed in a self-evident way: names were noted; services and gifts were exchanged, benefactions conferred and remembered. In some cases, the exchanges may have led to the establishment of formal *hospitium*, but informal relationships surely also developed and were valued.

Hospitium on the Frontier and in the Literary Evidence

Caesar regularly employed as legates or as agents individuals in his army who had already established *hospitium* with the Gallic and German opponents. Hence, Marcus Mettius was sent to negotiate with his *hospes*, Ariovistus (Gal. 1.47). Cicero comments that his brother, Quintus, was the *hospes* of Divitiacus, a Gaul and druid (*De div.* 1.41.90). Valerius Proculus was the son of an enfranchised Gaul and *familiaris et hospes* of Caesar (Gal. 1.53). Caesar clearly perceives that what we might label “diplomacy” is indeed covered by the rituals of *hospitium*. Moreover, his use of the words *hospes* and *hospitium* here makes

5 Balbín Chamorro 2006. This important study also includes an excellent set of plates with the most important *tesserae* and *tabulae*.

it manifest that he judged that the peregrine version functioned in a manner that Romans understood.

Tacitus provides several examples of the practice of *hospitium* on the Roman frontier.

- In the *Germania* he notes how *hospitium* served to facilitate blending among the various tribes (*Ger.* 2.1)
- In a disagreement between a legionary, his local *hospes*, and a member of a Batavian cohort, the Batavian accused the *hospes* of the legionary of fraud, and the latter came to the defense of his guest friend (*Hist.* 2.66.2).

Most illuminating however is the description of the relationship between the Lingones and the legionaries in their midst: “the *civitas Lingonum*, following an ancient custom, had sent clasped right hands to the legionaries as a sign of *hospitium*” (*miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona legionibus dextas, hospitii insigne, Hist.* 1.54.1).

In sum: we have sufficient evidence in the literary sources to conclude that Romans and peregrines easily established such relationships. The formalities associated with such *hospitium* varied considerably, but even from the brief episodes provided here we can understand that private relationships facilitated the provision of food and lodging for travelers, as well as protection and support when needed.

Tesserae Hospitales (Tokens of Guest-Friendship)

The earliest *tesserae* (tokens) may have been of earthenware, having the head of *Jupiter Hospitalis* stamped upon them (*Pl. Poen.* 5.1.25; 2.87–99). More common in the late Republic and early Principate was the use of metal *tesserae* and *tabulae*, especially in those cases involving the conclusion of a *hospitium publicum*. These objects, most of which are found in areas that were on the Roman frontier, are sometimes in the form of animals, e.g., a pig, perhaps to commemorate an animal slaughtered as part of a ritual meal confirming the relationship.⁶ The *tesserae* at least in some cases appear to be deliberately broken in half, or constructed with interlocking parts, so that the two parties could recognize one another on a subsequent occasion by fitting the pieces

6 Balbín Chamorro 2006. Dozens of such items are to be found in Balbín Chamorro's plates, 249–86. Fish and a variety of four-legged, domesticated examples may be found. Note also the much published pig from Pisuerga (no. 53).

together again.⁷ Later bronze tablets tend to take either a pentagonal or quadratic form.⁸ Though there are many variations, all record at least the names of the *hospites*, their intention to formalize a relationship, and the intention that the relationship should continue to future generations (... *liberis posterisque* – for their children and descendants; also in literary texts, e.g., Liv. 27.16). In many cases, *hospitium* is brought into connection with other social relationships – most notably with forms of patronage that would seem to undermine an otherwise implicit notion of equality of status and services.

Another way to formalize such a relationship was the transmittal of clasped right hands as a sign or symbol of *hospitium*. The Lingones, as described above, sent clasped right hands to the nearby legions as a sign of hospitality (Tac. *Hist.* 1.54.1 and at *Hist.* 2.8.11, where Syrian legions sent a similar gift to the praetorians).⁹ Tacitus is here explicit that this was a well-established Lingonian practice. In this case, the reference is clearly to *hospitium publicum*. It should also be noted that the identical form, clasped hands, may also have been found on bronze *tesserae* that were fabricated to commemorate an alliance between peregrines, that is in cases when Latin is not employed. Such *tesserae* confirm the conclusion mentioned earlier that the practice and rituals associated with *hospitium* have a universal quality.

Services

Aside from providing for the comforts of visitors, *hospites* also provided services, some of which are not at all easily distinguishable from those provided by patrons and clients. Recall the episode mentioned earlier in which a legionary went to the aid of a *hospes* accused of fraud during the Year of the Four Emperors. The evidence, which is primarily epigraphical, also indicates that the Romans were not particularly troubled by combining relationships that had very different implications in respect to equality or inequality of status and of service. Indeed, a significant number of *tesserae* and *tabulae* record not only the establishment of *hospitium* (from Munigua), but also of *patrocinium*

7 Balbín Chamorro 2006: Plate No. 38. This one appears to be manufactured to achieve the same result.

8 Balbín Chamorro 2006: Plates 54 and 55 for examples of rectangular items; nos. 58, 72, 73 for the pentagonal.

9 Balbín Chamorro 2006: Plates 1, 24, 41. There is some reason to believe that the symbol *signum hospitalis* may have originated in Persia (cf. Xen. *An.* 2.4).

and *clientela* (patronage and clientship).¹⁰ Moreover, these texts are explicit in stating that both relationships – i.e., hospitality and patronage – are being established at the same time.

Though much scholarly ink has flowed on this issue, the evidence is consistent in at least two respects, namely, that: a) the Romans and peregrines did not see the two relationships (again, hospitality and patronage) as mutually exclusive; and b) an individual could thus simultaneously be both a *hospes* and a *cliens/patronus*, even though the former could be seen as assuming equality between the parties involved, and the latter inequality. There is not much sense in trying to bring (what we would perceive as) order to the system. One may guess that the circumstances dictated (in a fashion comprehensible to a Roman) whether one responded as a guest-friend, as a patron, or as a client. Furthermore, the flexible nature of the structure may have made it more attractive to all the participants, allowing each to stress what seemed most important at any given moment.¹¹ That is, in seeking aid, an inferior might variously play the role of *hospes* in one situation and *cliens* in another. So, too, the superior party might also emphasize his status as *patronus* in one case or as *hospes* in another.

I conclude my remarks here with a reference to a fairly recent discovery. The *tabula* transcribed in the epigraph (Tiberian in date), is very similar in form and text to the one from Munigua. On the backside of this inscription is an inscribed text datable to a period 250 years later that commemorates not the establishment of *hospitium* but that of a patron of a *collegium*. Now it is not unusual for stone inscriptions to be so reused, but the reuse of the bronze tablet here suggests that it was preserved intact for a very long time. And this in spite of the fact that these bronze tablets are relatively easy to re-use and re-inscribe. I will have more to say about this *tabula* in another context.

¹⁰ For a detailed account of the issue, see Balbín Chamorro 2006.

¹¹ Cic. *Cato* 32 notes Cato's on-going obligations to friends, clients, and *hospites*. Cf. also Cic. *Fam.* 9.16.7, where *hospitium* and *amicitia* are complementary; and *Fam.* 13.25, where Cicero commends Hegesaretus of Larissa as his *hospes* and *familiaris*, and also as a grateful and good man, the first in his state. One might think also of C. Avianus Philoxenus, whom Cicero calls *antiquus hospes meus*, and also *familiaris*; as a favor to Cicero, Caesar made Philoxenus a citizen of Comum (Cic. *Fam.* 13.35). Reputable *amici et hospites* were summoned and tortured (Cic. *Clu.* 176; for his restoration cf. *Clu.* 202). Cicero offers *hospitium* to Atticus, clearly a generalized meaning here (Cic. *Att.* 2.16.4).

Conclusions

The literary and especially the epigraphical evidence suggest that Romans and peregrines easily entered into hospitable relationships. The process was so “selbstverständlich” that the Latin authors comment on the fact only when there were cases of abuse (for example as Cicero does at length in the *Verrines*) or when Romans made specific calculations based on the connection (as Caesar does with Mettius). The self-evident nature of the relationship is amply confirmed by the *tesserae*. They document a wide variety of connections between individuals, between individuals and communities, and between communities. Moreover, the sources, both epigraphical and literary, are consistent that Romans and peregrines alike had a common understanding of what was involved.

And how might we describe the services and benefactions? Certainly they begin with the provision of accommodations and shelter, of victuals and fodder. They also involved a commitment to the security of the person and property of the *hospites* and are emphatic that the children and descendants of those who concluded the original treaty should continue to enjoy the responsibilities and benefits. There is, then, good reason to conclude that *hospitium* functioned on the Roman frontier to ameliorate the tensions that might arise when one party found himself a stranger in another community and thereby to facilitate peaceful exchange on the frontier. It surely played a significant role in the process of Romanization.¹²

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12 I gratefully acknowledge the work of my two assistants, Nini Valerio and Cari Johnson in preparing this manuscript.

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“Pliny Country” Revisited: Connectivity and Regionalism in Roman Italy

Carolynn E. Roncaglia

“Pliny Country”

Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus was very much a man of the empire. As an advocate at cosmopolitan Rome, a witness at Vesuvius, governor in Bithynia, a landowner in Etruria, a friend of Spanish and north African senators, Pliny had a career that demonstrated the possibilities for mobility possessed by Roman elites during the high empire. Yet, when Ronald Syme published prosopographical studies on correspondents and persons mentioned in Pliny's letters nearly a half century ago, he found that many of the people in Pliny's letters fell within defined networks of *amicitia* in a limited geographical area that Syme named “Pliny Country.”¹ Syme's “Pliny Country”, based around Pliny's home town of Comum near Mediolanum, included most of Lombardy and stretched to just east of Lake Garda, encompassing the Valerii at Verona but not going as far east as Aquileia and the towns at the head of the Adriatic, nor going as far west as Eporodia and Augusta Taurinorum, which controlled access to the Western Alps. Within Italy, Pliny's region of connections was largely limited to the eastern half of the Augustan *regio* XI and the western part of *regio* X.²

Superimposed upon these regional connections were associations made in Rome, where, as Syme says, “the Plinian company... [acquired] recruits from schools and salons... from a barrister's practice and a senator's career.

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- 1 Syme 1968. For further prosopographical material on Pliny's correspondents, see Sherwin-White 1966, Syme 1985, and Birley 2000. To Pliny's networks in northern Italy, Champlin 2001 adds a second group of regional connections based around Pliny's Umbrian villa in Tifernum Tiberinum and stretching south to Perugia, Spoletium, Narnia, Iguvium, Asisium, and Pisaurum (127).
 - 2 Italian regionalism, particularly during the republic and the Augustan age, has received much attention recently; overviews can be found in Lomas 2009 and Bradley 2007. The impact of the creation of the Augustan *regiones* is discussed in Polverini 1998, Galsterer 1994, and Nicolet 1991. Graham 2006 discusses regionalism and personal networks in the context of the Antonine itineraries.

In these ways, persons from Spain and Narbonensis come in.”³ Pliny’s more illustrious *amici*, Suetonius and Tacitus, boasted origins and relationships scattered across the empire, but they had in common a political connection to the city of Rome.⁴ Both regional and Roman connections in turn produced patronage obligations, adding a third set of connections to Pliny’s world. Tifernum Tiberinum, where Pliny had inherited from his family substantial landholdings, adopted him as *patronus*, and from there Pliny built up a considerable network of Umbrian social contacts (*Ep.* 4.1).⁵ At Rome Pliny served as advocate for an embassy of Baeticians seeking redress against a previous – and conveniently deceased – governor; according to Pliny they had sought him out because of his previous success in the law courts of Rome (*Ep.* 3.4). Similarly his friend Statius Sabinus persuaded him to act as advocate for the people of Firmum Picenum (*Ep.* 6.18). Pliny’s most extensive patronage, however, was confined to his hometown of Comum, where he built baths and a library, set up an alimentary program for the children of the town, and provided partial funding for the hire of a new teacher.⁶

Through the publication and survival of his letters, Pliny’s connections in Italy and the empire are exceptionally well-documented, but are they anomalous? Can other sets of regional connections be defined, and what determines their shape? How did these hypothetical regional networks – like the set of social and political bonds formed by Pliny and his correspondents – interact with other, larger networks?

Sources

Pliny’s letters stand largely alone in the high empire, but they are not the only sources that can reconstruct the personal networks created by individuals through various forms of interaction, like marriage, business, patronage, or

3 Syme 1968: 135.

4 On Pliny’s literary connections at Rome, see White 1975. On the presentation of *amicitia* in Pliny, see Noreña 2007, as well as Brunt 1965 and Saller 1989 for more general discussions of the place of *amicitia* in Roman society.

5 On Pliny’s status as *patronus* and relationships with the three communities, see Nicols 1980, who draws largely upon the evidence of Pliny *Ep.* 4.1, 3.4, 7.33, and 6.18 to reconstruct Pliny’s patronage obligations outside of Comum. On Pliny’s property at Tifernum, see Rosafio 1993 and Champlin 2001, who describes this “significant web, both broad and thick, of social connections” as “Pliny’s other country” (127).

6 On Pliny’s benefactions at Comum, see *CIL* V 5262 (= *ILS* 2927), 5263, *AE* 1972, 212 (statue base from Comum), as well as Pliny *Ep.* 4.13 and 5.7.

amicitia. This article examines one category of these sources – inscriptions on stone or bronze – that (1) provides a fairly large sample size, (2) is fairly well represented across Roman Italy, and (3) provides some evidence of the kinds of regional connections that can be seen in Pliny's letters.

This is not to say that working with these inscriptions is unproblematic. The geographic and chronological distributions of inscriptions within Roman Italy are uneven. Inscriptions from the Principate, particularly from the second century CE, are more numerous than those from the early Republican period or from Late Antiquity.⁷ Similarly, some regions of Italy are epigraphically denser than others, and even within regions, epigraphic corpora tend to show an overrepresentation of freedmen, soldiers, and local elites.⁸ There are also regional variations in epigraphic habits – such as more frequent commemoration of women and children in the old Venetic areas around Ateste – which complicate even these general assumptions about epigraphic biases.⁹

Compensating for all documentary bias is beyond the scope of this project, but to allow for some standardization of bias the evidence has been limited to those inscriptions (largely funerary and honorific) that date to the period from the Late Republic through the Principate and that explicitly mention a connection to a place in Italy other than the site of the inscription, as in a dedication from Clusium, which commemorates a freedman from nearby Cortona: *C(aio) Titio C(ai) l(iberto) Celeri, / domo Cortona, / Vlvir(o) Aug(ustali) / liberti eius*.¹⁰ Not included in the corpus are non-explicit or uncertain connections, such as those known through literary sources, proposed by prosopographical studies, or suggested by tribal affiliations. These non-specific sources are excluded in order to standardize the corpus of documentary material as much as possible and in order not to favor those areas where the local prosopography has been more thoroughly or carefully studied.

7 For surveys of the rise and fall of the epigraphic habit in the Roman World, see Mrozek 1973, MacMullen 1982, and Mouritsen 2005.

8 Mouritsen 2011: 127–29.

9 For examples of localized epigraphic biases in Roman Italy, see Taylor 2000 on the more frequent representation of women and children in funerary monuments around Ateste as a carryover from Venetic commemorative traditions, as well as George 2005: 58 on the smaller proportion of freedmen in inscriptions in northern Italy as compared with central and southern Italy (cf. Mollo 1997 on the correspondingly high proportion of *ingenui* in northern Italy's *collegia* and *sevirates*).

10 *CIL* XI 2123 (= Donati 1967: no. 28).

Italian Regional Networks

Mapping the connections shown by this corpus of inscriptions allows a partial reconstruction of interaction between residents of different *municipia*. Bononia provides a useful example. Within Italy, the town has links with Aquileia, Cremona, Mutina, Parma, Ravenna, and Rome.¹¹ Among these Italian connections, two distinct patterns of interaction can be discerned.

The first pattern is largely a regional one: connections are largely limited to northeastern Italy, in particular to the Aemilia. Here Bononia's ties, concentrated along the via Aemilia, the great trunk road running north of the Apennines, are created by local elites, particularly by those of the decurial class, by members of the *sevirate*, and *Augustales*.¹² So, for example, in an epitaph at Bononia, a *vestiarius* advertises his Cremonese connections: *V(ivus) f(ecit) / L(ucius) Ursius / Sosander, / vestiar(ius) Bonon(iensis), /⁵ sibi et Rufriae / Calybe con[i]ugi / piissim[a]e, / isdem d[o]mo / Cremona VIvir. /¹⁰ In front(e) p(edes) XXVI, / in agro p(edes) XX.*¹³

The connections between the local elites of Bononia and its neighbors in northeastern Italy stand in contrast to the connections between Rome and Bononia, which are largely the result of recruitment by the Praetorian Guard and the urban cohorts in Rome. Explicit references to Bononia in Rome are almost exclusively to be found in the listed origins of praetorians and members of the urban cohorts. The relationship between Rome and Bononia appears to be reciprocal, as people from Bononia joined the guard at Rome and then returned as veterans to settle in Bononia.¹⁴ This bidirectional link between Rome and Bononia exists alongside Bononia's regional network of connections in the Aemilia and northeastern Italy.

These two types of ties linking Bononia with other places in Italy are typical of other large, northern Italian towns such as Cremona, whose connections

11 Inscriptions used to map Bononia's connections within Italy: *IAquil* II 2761, 2829, 2847 (Aquileia); *ILS* 6668 (Cremona); *ILS* 6669, *AE* 2003, 662 (Mutina); *CIL* XI 1065 (Parma); *CIL* XI 21, 6734 (Ravenna); *Supp. It.* 10 Terg. 8 (Tergeste); *AE* 1916, 50; 1979, 87, 88; 1984, 61; *ILS* 2012, 9081; *CIL* VI 2465, 2693, 2727, 2761, 3438, 32515, 32522, 32638, 32526, 32659, 32707; XI 21, 1065, 6734 (Rome).

12 For general studies of *seviri* and *Augustales*, see Fishwick 1987 (in the context of the imperial cult), Duthoy 1976 and Abramenko 1993.

13 *CIL* XI 6839 = *ILS* 6668. "Lucius Ursius Sosander, Bononian clothes-dealer and *sevir*, made (this monument) while still living for himself and his most dutiful wife Rufria Calybe, both from Cremona; (the tomb area extends) in width 26 feet and in length 20 feet." Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

14 Praetorians at Bononia: *CIL* XI 704, 706, and 708. Cf. Todisco 1999.

in Italy are similarly divided between the Po valley (Aquileia, Cremona, Bononia, Brixia, Ficulea, Lepidum Regium, Pola, Ravenna, and Verona) and Rome.¹⁵ Verona too has a similar dichotomy between the regional connections made by local elites and the military connections made by recruitment into the Praetorian Guard and urban cohorts at Rome and by subsequent veteran settlement, as at Reate and Pisaurum.¹⁶

Aquileia at first appears to be the exception to this rule, with connections to Ateste, Augusta Taurinorum, Bononia, Brixia, Cremona, Emona, Faesulae, Forum Iulii, Fundi, Hasta, Intimilium, Mutina, Opitergium, Patavium, Perusia, Placentia, Pola, Rome, Sentinum, Tergeste, and Verona.¹⁷ These connections are both more wide-ranging and more numerous than other towns in northern Italy. The number of the connections can perhaps be explained by Aquileia's large number of inscriptions and by the strength of the epigraphic habit among Aquileians.¹⁸ The range, moreover, is distorted by the stationing of praetorians at Aquileia.¹⁹ Taking into account the unique circumstances at Aquileia, the patterns of connectivity seen at Bononia otherwise seem typical for similarly sized towns in northern Italy.²⁰ But are these patterns found at Bononia and other Cisalpine towns representative of Italy as a whole?

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- 15 Cremona: *CIL* XI 347 (Ravenna); *AE* 1998, 408 (Regium Lepidum); *CIL* V 4399 = *ILS* 6702 (Brixia); *CIL* V 4392 = *ILS* 5631 (Brixia and Verona); *CIL* V 53 (Pola); *CIL* V 8274 (Aquileia); *CIL* V 977 = *ILS* 1468 (Aquileia and Concordia); *AE* 1978, 68; 1993, 51; 1997, 182; *CIL* VI 2942, 3641, 37217, 37229 (Rome); and *CIL* XIV 4007 (Ficulea).
 - 16 Verona: *CIL* V 911 (Aquileia); *CIL* XI 6839 (Bononia); *CIL* V 4392 = *ILS* 5631 (Cremona and Brixia); *CIL* V 4392, 4416, 4418, 4443, 4492 (Brixia); *CIL* V 4485 (Brixia and Tridentum), *CIL* XI 6348 (Pisaurum); *CIL* VI 2452, 2474, 2580, 2657, 2765, 2766, 3888, 3892, 9124, 37220 (Rome); and *CIL* IX 4685 (Reate).
 - 17 *CIL* V 1029 (Ateste); *CIL* V 7047 (Augusta Taurinorum); *IAquil.* 2.2761, 2.2829, and 2.2847 (Bononia); *CIL* XI 831 = *ILS* 1218, *CIL* V 4449 (Brixia); *ILS* 2069 (Cremona); *AE* 1998, 548, *CIL* III 10772, 3836b (Emona); *IAquil.* 2.2845 (Faesulae); *CIL* V 1758 and *CIL* V 1768 (Forum Iulii); *CIL* X 6229 (Fundi); *CIL* V 7563 (Hasta); *CIL* V 886 (Intimilium); *CIL* XI 831 = *ILS* 1218, *IAquil.* 2.2755 (Mutina); *CIL* V 331 (Opitergium); *IAquil.* 64 (Patavium); *IAquil.* 2.2843 (Perusia); *AE* 1935, 9 and *AE* 1964, 212 (Placentia); *CIL* V 55, 71, 118 (Pola); *AE* 2007, 355 (Priverum); *AE* 2001, 491 (Rome); *IAquil.* 3.3537 (Sentinum); *IAquil.* 516 (Tergeste); and *CIL* V 911 (Verona).
 - 18 On the epigraphic habit at Aquileia, see Zaccaria 1989, Brusin 1991–1993, and Hope 2001.
 - 19 This is the case with the connections with Perusia (*IAquil.* 2.2843), Ateste (*CIL* V 1029), and Intimilium (*CIL* V 886), and Faesulae (*IAquil.* 2.2845). On the praetorian presence at Aquileia, see Brusin 1991–1993: 960, Pavan 1979, Saddington 1988, and Keppie 2000: 115; on the limited naval presence, see Panciera 1978.
 - 20 On town size in northern Italy, see de Ligt 2008.

In southern and central Italy, similar patterns prevail. At Capua, for example, there is again the dichotomy between Roman and regional connections created by local elites holding decurionates and sevirates in neighboring towns. The elongated shape of Capua's regional connections differs from the more globular and/or triangular networks seen in the Po valley. Here geography, especially the divisive power of the Apennine chain, seems to be limiting Capua's range of connectivity largely to the Tyrrhenian coast. A similar dichotomous network emerges at Beneventum, whose connections are either within a 40 km. radius around the town or with Rome.²¹ Whereas Capua's links were largely coastal, Beneventum's spread out radially along the Calore river, the via Appia, and the via Traiana. On a smaller scale, the Umbrian town of Tuder has connections with nearby Tiber river towns Spoletium and Vettona as well as the expected military links with Rome.²² So the basic patterns of connectivity seen at Bononia are replicated across the Italian peninsula.

The regional and cross-regional links created by local elites and recruited praetorians respectively were of course not the only forms of connectivity within Roman Italy, but they nevertheless do suggest a uniformity to the patterns by which people in Roman Italy interacted with other communities.²³ In general, communication and social connections were limited to small regions, the shapes of which were strongly influenced by both the physical geography and the paths of major Roman roads, as can be seen in Beneventum's regional network and with the shape of networks in Aemilia.

The general shape and scale of these networks, moreover, lend further credence to the idea of a coherent "Pliny Country". Returning to Mediolanum, the large city near Pliny's Comum, it is clear that Mediolanum's range of connections corresponds roughly to the area of modern Lombardy, expanding into eastern Veneto and into northern Liguria.²⁴ Mediolanum's network of

21 Beneventum: *CIL* IX 1194 (Aeclanum); *CIL* IX 1418 (Aequum Tuticum); *AE* 1972, 143 (Capua); Pagus Veianus (*CIL* IX 1503 = *ILS* 6508); Rome (*CIL* VI 32515); Telesia (*ILLRP* 676).

22 Tuder: *CIL* XI 4942 (Spoletium); *CIL* XI 5176 (Vettona); *CIL* VI 2559, 32520, 32638 (Rome).

23 Personal connections created through primarily economic relationships are not as commonly attested in inscriptions (at least not explicitly) and are possibly underrepresented. Even exceptions such as *CIL* VI 29722 = *ILS* 7490 (Rome), which commemorates a Baetican oil trader at Rome, emphasize offices held within *collegia* and corporations. (For further discussion of *ILS* 7490, see Hasegawa 2008).

24 Mediolanum: *CIL* V 1785 (Iulium Carnicum); *AE* 1991, 824 (Brixia); *CIL* V 5658 (Novaria and Comum); *CIL* V 5445 (Stabbio, Switzerland); *CIL* V 5749 (Forum Popilii and Modicia); *CIL* V 6348 (= *ILS* 6737), 6349 (= *ILS* 6738), 6345, 6346 (Laus Pompeia); *CIL* V 5277, 5713, *AE* 1947, 46 (Comum); *CIL* V 6630 (Novaria); *CIL* V 5216 = *ILS* 2722 (Bergomum and Otesinum); *CIL* V 5612 (Sibrium); *CIL* X 3599 (Misenum); *CIL* XIV 3545 = *ILS* 2642 (Tibur); *AE* 1999, 651

connectivity neither corresponds to modern regions nor to the Augustan *regio* XI. It is, as at Capua, limited by geography, with Mediolanum's connections stretching east down the Po river system but not across the Apennines into coastal Liguria or into northern Etruria. The geographical limitations of Mediolanum's connections are again not atypical, as we see in comparison with four other towns from other areas of the Po valley – Augusta Bagiennorum, Brixia, Patavium, and Ariminum.²⁵ At Augusta Bagiennorum and Ariminum especially these geographical limitations are apparent – the connections of Augusta Bagiennorum cluster around the Tanarus river valley, and Ariminum clings as much to the Po delta as to the Apennines.

While Mediolanum's network does not match ancient or modern administrative regions, it does, however, correspond almost exactly to the Transpadane network sketched by Pliny's letters. Using Mediolanum's fuller epigraphic corpus to stand in for nearby Comum, it does seem that Syme's "Pliny Country" corresponds quite closely to the network of local elites in the same area.²⁶ Thus Pliny's regional connections are not anomalous, and here there is a pleasing overlap between the literary and epigraphic record.

Superimposed on these regional networks of local elites are those links created by military recruitment – particularly into the urban cohorts and Praetorian Guard – and veteran settlement. Within Italy, these links connect towns across the peninsula with Rome. The strength of this second form of network becomes more apparent when the range of data used for looking at regional networks in Italy is expanded to include inscriptions not only in Italy but also throughout the empire that explicitly note a connection with an Italian town.

(Dertona); *AE* 1955, 24 (Antium); *CIL* IX 5752 = *ILS* 7582 (Ricina); *CIL* XI 1230 (Placentia); *CIL* VI 1409 (= *ILS* 1142), 2721, 2749, 3449; *ILS* 1123; *AE* 1916, 48 (Rome).

25 Augusta Bagiennorum: *CIL* V 7604 = *ILS* 6749 (Alba Pompeia); *CIL* V 7153 (Alba Pompeia, Genua, and Aquae Statielliae), and *CIL* V 7670 (Pollentia). Brixia: *AE* 1991, 824 (Mediolanum); *CIL* V 4964 (Cammuni); *CIL* V 4399 = *ILS* 6702 (Cremona); *CIL* V 4392 = *ILS* 5631 (Cremona and Verona); *CIL* V 4416, 4443, 4492 (Verona); *CIL* V 4485 = *ILS* 6716 (Verona and Tridentum); *CIL* V 4439 (Tridentum); *CIL* V 5036 = *ILS* 5016 (Tridentum and Mantua); *CIL* VI 1441, 2430, 3482, 3560, 3905, and 37220 (Rome). Patavium: *IAquil.* 1.289 (Aquileia and Concordia); *CIL* V 2540 (Ateste); *CIL* V 2525 = *ILS* 6693 (Ateste and Concordia), and *CIL* VI 2701 (Rome). Ariminum: *CIL* V 1910 = *ILS* 7792 (Concordia); *CIL* XI 6378, 6354 (= *ILS* 6655); *AE* 1979, 84 (Pisaurum).

26 Comum's network: *CIL* V 5518 (from San Biaggio, near Pavia); *CIL* V 5303, 5713; *AE* 1947, 46 (Mediolanum); *CIL* V 5667 (the Vercellenses honoring Pliny).

Connections between Italy and the Empire

By expanding the data in this manner for the small Etrurian town of Faesulae, for example, a small diaspora appears: legionaries and praetorians who claim an origin in Faesulae are found in Rome, Aquileia, Formiae, Mogontiacum in Germany, and at Carnuntum in Pannonia.²⁷ All of the people commemorated outside of Faesulae who mention an origin in Faesulae also claim current or former membership in the legions, the Praetorian Guard, or the urban cohorts. A major force pulling inhabitants of Faesulae away from home and beyond the borders of Italy seems to have been military recruitment.

In this matter Faesulae was not exceptional; towns throughout Italy show similar patterns, with a majority of connections outside of Italy being the results of military recruitment and resettlement. The same effect of recruitment on an Italian diaspora can be seen with attestations of people across the empire who claim an origin in Mediolanum. Outside of Mediolanum's regional network in the Transpadane, it is almost always a direct military connection that accounts for the movement of Milanese throughout the empire, hence the concentration of Milanese at military sites such as Mogontiacum, Carnuntum, and Poetovio.²⁸

The exceptions are at Narbo in southern Gaul, where the occupation of the commemorated in the relevant inscription is not clear, and at Leptis Magna, where a marble base in the theater commemorates a particularly successful Severan-era pantomime:

M(arco) Septimio Aurelio Agrippae
M(arci) Aureli Antonini Pii Felicis Aug(usti) lib(erto)
pantomimo temporis sui primo,
Romae adulescentium productorum
condiscipulo ad Italiae spectacula
a domino nostro Aug(usto) provecto,
decurionalibus ornamentis Verona

5

27 Faesulae: *CIL* XIII 6957 (Mogontiacum), *ILS* 1429 (Ostia), *CIL* X 6097 (Formiae), *AE* 2002, 1153 (Carnuntum), *CIL* VI 2492 (Rome), *IAquil.* 2.2845 (Aquileia).

28 Mediolanum: *AE* 1953, 188 (Leptis Magna), *CIL* VIII 12467 (Carthage); *AE* 1992, 1470 (Potaissa), *AE* 1940, 25 (Narbo); *CIL* XIII 8071 (Bonna); *CIL* XIII 6967, 6975, 6982, 11853, 11855, 11858; *AE* 1904, 101; 1911, 234; 1965, 257 (Mogontiacum); *CIL* XIII 5979 (Argentorate); *ILS* 2330 (Poetovio), *CIL* III 14349.7 (Aquincum); *AE* 1972, 414 (Savaria); *AE* 1934, 270 (Carnuntum). Comum exhibits a similar, if much less extensive, pattern: *AE* 1907, 108b (Castra Regina, Raetia); *CIL* III 14998 (Burnum); and *CIL* III 14349.2 (Aquincum).

et Vicetia ornato, Mediolano inter iuvenes recepto, in Africa Lepci Mag(na) a domino nostro Aug(usto) ordinato. P(ublius) Albucius Apollonius Mediolanensis ex Italia amico rari exempli permissu splendidissimi ord(inis) p(osuit). 10

"To Marcus Septimius Aurelius Agrippa, freedman of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, leading pantomime of his time, fellow-pupil of the young men brought up at Rome, brought to Italian performances by our lord Augustus, decorated with decurial honors at Verona and Vicetia, admitted into the *iuvenes* at Mediolanum, appointed to the town council in Africa at Leptis Magna by our lord Augustus. Publius Albucius Apollonius, Milanese from Italy, to a friend of uncommon specimen, set this up by the permission of the most splendid town council."²⁹

Agrippa's career, as far as the honorific monument from Leptis records it, encompasses three distinct areas: Rome, Leptis Magna, and a region in northern Italy including Verona, Vicetia, and Mediolanum. Agrippa's place of origin is uncertain, but given that he was brought *ad Italiae spectacula*, a provincial origin, albeit not necessarily North African, is likely. Once in Italy, Agrippa seems to have made connections at Rome, Vicetia, Verona, and Mediolanum. Given his position as imperial freedman, his education at Rome is not surprising. Agrippa's connections with Vicetia, Verona, and Mediolanum are perhaps less expected, but given the nature of Italian regional networks as outlined above, once Agrippa made a patron or connection from one town – most probably the Milanese Apollonius – connections with other towns in Mediolanum's network might easily follow.³⁰ Agrippa's career appears thus to have been shaped not only by imperial patronage but also by local regional networks in Italy.

29 IRT 606 = AE 1953, 18 = IRT 2009 <http://inslib.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT606.html> (with a photo). Further discussion of IRT 606 can be found in Zaccharia 1994, Gregori 2002, Gregori 2008, and Morel 1969. On the *iuvenes* at Mediolanum, see Boscolo 2003. More general treatments of youth organizations in the Roman empire can be found in Giuliano 1979, Mohler 1937, and Ginestet 1991.

30 The Albucii are clustered mostly in Liguria, and in the Transpadana around Mediolanum and Novara. On the Albucii, see PIR² A 488 and 489, as well as CIL V 5764, 5773, 5818, 5819, 5838–5840, 5918, 5936, 5939, 5955, 6000, and, for the Albucii at Mediolanum, AE 1998, 627.

Hence even outliers in the empire tend to confirm the two basic patterns of connectivity seen in Italian inscriptions, namely (1) that the regional networks are created mainly by local elites and (2) that larger networks are created by the Roman state through recruitment – mostly military but also administrative and, in the case of Agrippa, theatrical – and link local networks with Rome and the *limes*.

Conclusions

These two basic patterns are not dissimilar to Pliny's own connections, with a web of regional associations in central northern Italy overlapping with those made at Rome or through state service. "Pliny country", for Pliny, was more than a web of friends and acquaintances. Throughout his letters, Pliny shows flashes of a sense of belonging to the regions that his network encompasses. He describes Cornelius Minicianus, from Bergomum just to the east of Comum, as "*ornamentum regionis meae*" (Pliny, *Ep.* 7.22.2). In another letter he describes a man from Brixia as *ex illa nostra Italia* and then proceeds to list values (*verecundia, frugalitas, rusticitas antiqua*) for which that part of Italy is known (*Ep.* 1.14.4–7). So, Pliny understood himself to be from a particular region of Italy, a region that was constructed partly geographically, by the practical limits imposed by mountains and by the connections provided by rivers, and partly culturally, by means of the values of old fashioned frugality and simplicity that Pliny attributes to the region.

That region was also a network of *municipia*, the basic building blocks of a *regio*, and indeed Pliny ascribed the people in his works to *municipia* first and only secondarily to *regiones* (as in *Ep.* 1.14). "Pliny country" was a regional network, but it was one conceptually constructed out of *municipia* and one that replicates the regional networks illustrated by local *vestiarii*, *duoviri*, and *seviri* claiming ties and offices in other *municipia*. Cortonese freedmen C. Titius Celer and Agrippa the pantomime may have had little else in common with Pliny, but the ways in which all three interacted with the rest of Italy and the empire fit into patterns replicated on a grand scale.

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Nasty, Brutish, and Short? The Demography of the Roman Imperial Navy

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This article presents the data and results from a program of research on the lives and deaths of the sailors and marines in the Roman imperial navy. The goal of this work is to illuminate the demographic patterns, essentially the simple facts of life, for the sub-equestrian classes that comprise the enlistments in the navy and to determine what the effects of naval enlistment were for their lives. The major topics addressed are recruitment patterns, age of enlistment, survival and life expectancy, and age at death. Although this research focuses on the Roman imperial navy, data on the army are included to allow analysis across branches of service with comparative and contrastive examples. Aggregation and analysis of the documentary sources on the fleet, primarily epitaphs from the tombs of common sailors and marines that make up the key evidence, allows a determination of a number of key aspects of the lives of the enlisted personnel in the navy. First, it is important to recognize what these sources can and cannot reveal.

Source Material: Epitaphs

Some examples of the 440 epitaphs of sailors and marines that survive will be illustrative of the limitations the evidence provided by the tombstones of serving or veteran members of the navy.¹ The four examples below include three naval inscriptions and, for comparison, one of a member of the Praetorian cavalry.

1 A number of compilations of these epitaphs have been published over the years. By far the most complete is Spaul 2002, whose book-length study I have used throughout my research to check my own spreadsheet. Despite its length, it is not complete; notably two of the three naval examples cited here were not included in the work.

C(aii) Iuli(i) Pudentis / mani(pularis) Lib(urna) Libertate, / qui Dines Sautis, / nat(ione) Bessus. Vixit /⁵ ann(is) XXXX; mil(itavit) an(nis) / XXIII. Fecit C(aius) Antesti/us Rufus heres / bene merenti.

(CIL 10.3590)

Of Gaius Iulius Pudens, *manipularis* of the Liburnian ship Liberty, who was Dines Sautis, by nationality Bessus. He lived forty years, served twenty-three years. Gaius Antestius Rufus, heir, made this for (him) well deserving.

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arcus) Fl(avius) Capito / armor(um) cust(os) / Lib(urna) Virtute, n(atione) Pam/⁵phylus. Vix(it) an(nis) L; / mil(itavit) an(nis) XXIII. Deccia / Fortunata co(n)iugi b(ene) m(erenti).

(CIL 10.3400)

To the Spirits of the Dead. Marcus Flavius Capito, keeper of arms on the Liburnian ship Courage, by nationality Pamphylian, lived fifty years, served twenty-four years. Deccia Fortunata for her well deserving spouse.

D(is) M(anibus) / C(ai) Longini Maxi/mi Lib(urna) Clementia, /nation(e) Pamphylis. /⁵ Vix(it) annis XXXXV; / milita(vit) ann(is) XXV. / L(ucius) Valerius Valens / librari(us) dupliciar(ius) / heres ben(e) mer(enti)fec(it).

(EphEp 8, 113 no. 430)

To the Spirits of the Dead of Gaius Longinus Maximus from the Liburnian ship Clementia, Pamphylian by nationality. He lived forty-five years, served twenty-five years. Lucius Valerius Valens double-pay clerk, heir, made this for him well deserving.

D(is) M(anibus). Aur(elio) Bito eq(uiti) co(ho)r(tis) VI pr(aetoriae), / natione T(h)rax, civ[i]s [Ph]ilopo/pulitanus, an(norum) p(lus) m(inus) XXXV, qui / m(ilitavit) an(nos) XVII sic: in legione I It/⁵alica, an(nos) II; in co(ho)r(te) II pr(a)et(oria), / munifex an(nos) XIII factus; / eq(ues) mil(itavit) menses n(umero) X, fratri / dignissimo Val(erius) Aulu/sanus pr(a)et(or)ianus incomparabili.

(CIL 6.2601)

To the spirits of the dead. To Aurelius Bitus, cavalry soldier in the Sixth Praetorian cohort, Thracian by nationality, citizen of Philippopolis, who lived thirty-five years, more or less, and served seventeen years as follows: two years in the First Legion Italica, fourteen years as a soldier with duties in the Second Praetorian cohort, and, as a cavalryman, ten months; Valerius Aulusanus, a praetorian, dedicated this to his most worthy and incomparable brother.

A few general observations about epitaphs are necessary to establish context. First, epitaphs are very formulaic, with only certain elements found regularly. The lack, for example, of names of extended or even immediate family beyond a single heir or surviving spouse means that they cannot be used to reconstruct household size. Also, they allow very little chronological precision. Since dating of these epitaphs of persons of lower status is almost never absolute, relative dating is our best hope for determining even a general chronological range for a particular inscription. The broad ranges are generally based on internal factors such as the use of abbreviations such as the initial "D.M." formula, names and name forms that derive from imperial models, and changing status indicators of the fleet, notably whether or not it is called "Praetorian".² None of these factors is without controversy and each provides only a wide range of possible dates, often of about thirty years. It is thus not feasible to determine chronological patterns in, for example, life expectancy; consequently, all of the imperial naval inscriptions from the first to the third centuries are addressed in a group in this study.

Even given these limitations, these inscriptions can tell us much about the demography of the fleet. The examples above show that someone, probably a clerk in the unit headquarters such as Lucius Valerius Valens in the third example, is keeping track of the terms of enlistment of the soldiers and sailors. This includes not only the length of enlistment, but career records including rank, billet or duty station, and final posting. In the fourth example we see a particularly detailed epitaph that allows the reader to trace the career of the deceased. In addition to matters strictly military, we see the nationalities of the deceased and, in the first example, the birth name of Gaius Julius Pudens. These examples are characteristic in that those epitaphs dedicated by other members of the service branch, rather than family members, as in the second example, provide more details of the service history of the deceased. Despite the precise recording of years of service, we see the pattern in the ages of the deceased ending in multiples of five. Age-rounding of this sort has been noted

2 These factors are explored in many publications on the navy, notably in detail in Starr 1960: 71–73.

in general in Roman epitaphs, especially of North Africa, and makes determination of some basic facts for specific individuals difficult, as the abbreviation for “more or less” in the Praetorian example makes clear. Nevertheless, Bruce Frier, in his work on demography, has argued that these numbers can be viewed as approximations and studied as such.³ Given this apparently careful record-keeping, we can observe several patterns.

Recruitment Patterns

Table 13.1 provides a list of the *nationes* of all the known recruits in the fleet, which provides an indication of where these sailors and marines whose commemorative markers survive originated from across the Roman world. The territories are grouped in the table geographically in the order African, European, Mediterranean Islands, Asian cities and provinces. Sailors in the fleet come from a limited number of provinces in the Roman empire. They are clustered in Asia Minor, Egypt, the Danubian provinces, and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. Entire provinces are undocumented in the epigraphical record as having contributed men to the fleet; others contributed a single sailor. Missing altogether are the Iberian, Gallic, and German provinces, Britain, Mauretania, Cyrenaica, Moesia, Asia, and Galatia. The pattern is clearly one of drawing recruits from areas other than the western provinces. This is remarkable, because a comparison to the army – or, more to the point, the auxiliaries – shows that they drew men from every province in the Roman empire. These recruiting patterns suggest that enlistment in the navy was based on a variety of factors that differed from the army.

TABLE 13.1 *Recruiting patterns: nationes of sailors in the Roman imperial navy*

Province, Island or City	Number	Percent
Africa		
Africa	13	4
Egyptus	61	17
Alexandria	21	6

3 Frier 1983: 337. Age-rounding and selective commemoration skew the results of this and many studies. On both of these phenomena and their role in demographic calculations, see Scheidel 2001: 5.

TABLE 13.1 (cont.)

Province, Island or City	Number	Percent
Europe		
Britannia	1	0.3
Dacia	2	0.6
Dalmatia	31	9
Gallia	1	0.3
Germania	1	0.3
Graecia	10	3
Italia	6	2
Pannonia	16	4
Raetia	2	0.6
Thracia	52	14
Mediterranean islands		
Corsica	11	3
Sardinia	33	9
Sicilia	4	1
Asia		
Bithynia	13	3
Cappadocia	8	2
Cilicia	34	9
Lycia	2	0.6
Pamphylia	12	3
Phrygia	9	3
Syria	18	5
Total:	361	100

Egypt and Alexandria – always an important distinction in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds – alone provided 23% of the sailors in the fleet. These were probably the result of Egypt operating as one terminus of the grain supply to Rome, which could account for the fact that self-identified Alexandrians are found exclusively in the fleet at Misenum.⁴ The movement of the grain fleet

⁴ Starr 1960: 77.

between Alexandria and Puteoli, attended by ships from the navy stationed at Misenum on the north edge of the Bay of Naples,⁵ meant that it was a relatively straight-forward process to enlist and gain transport to Italy with the fleet for training and duty assignment.⁶ The position of Alexandria as one of the major harbors in the Mediterranean also meant that civilian sailors were common there and might enlist as a means of securing stable employment. The almost identical technologies and techniques of sailing civilian and military vessels in the Roman world would make such a transfer fairly smooth. As might be expected, poorer provinces and those with long coastlines, and long maritime traditions, are most highly represented, but a culture of seafaring alone does not explain these patterns. The differences between Cilicia (9%) and Cappadocia (2%), for example, and the disparity between the very poor Sardinia (9%) and the very wealthy Sicilia (1%), even with the latter's long naval tradition are difficult to explain. Most of the recruits list an age of enlistment in their teens, some as young as 10 or 11. Further, many of those areas with long seafaring histories are absent from the list, including the *poleis* of Asia, and cities in Judaea, Cyprus, Italy and Sicily. By contrast some of the provinces which supplied sailors – Raetia and Pannonia, for example – are landlocked, or virtually so. While the number of Raetians is small, Pannonians contributed 10% of the manpower of the fleet, according to one estimate. Further, Tacitus (*Hist.* 3.50) writes that one of the two major imperial fleets, that headquartered at Ravenna, was primarily made up of Pannonians and Dalmatians. Of the peoples from Mediterranean or coastal provinces, the epigraphic sources that give home towns show that many were from off of the coast. In the case of the Thracians, 43 of the 52 known identify themselves with the tribe of the Bessi, who were known as fierce warriors and cavalry but not as sailors and were centered around Plotinopolis, some ninety kilometers from the nearest harbor. The province of Asia is also absent despite its long seacoast and high population density, probably because of the province's wealth and the high number of colonies, both as disincentives to enlistment, rather than any legal restrictions on enlistment. Perhaps the greatest unifying theme is that the provinces named are among the best examples of under-development in the Roman empire.

Examining the pattern in Asia Minor, we see that the province of Asia – the most heavily urbanized and wealthiest in the region – supplied no identifiable

5 Tuck 2008: 335.

6 Evidence for travel from Egypt to Italy and the conditions of enlistment come from a letter of the second century from an Egyptian recruit, Apion, who writes home to report his arrival, successful enlistment in the fleet, enlistment payment of three gold coins and his new name, Antonius Maximus. See Hunt and Edgar 1932: 304–307 (no. 112).

recruits to the fleet, whereas those of Bithynia, Cappadocia, Pamphylia and Cilicia combined to supply over 12% of the naval recruits. Compared to the wealthy province of Asia, these areas are less urban, farther from the centers of Roman law and commerce, and generally share the reputation of being wilder. One could argue that Syria be included in the same general area as the provinces of Asia Minor. It certainly had close ties to Cilicia, with which it was joined from 44 BCE to 72 CE. If we accept that Syria was culturally and politically united with the poorer provinces of Asia Minor, the percentage of sailors from this area rises to 28% of the total. Here I disagree with Chester Starr, who characterized the majority of recruits as originating from the Hellenized East.⁷ I think we must conclude that they were mainly coming from the less-Hellenized East, in some cases possibly as a component of a deliberate policy of Romanization.⁸

The same comparison of richer and poorer provinces can be sustained with the provinces of Africa and Cyrenaica. During the first two centuries of the Principate, the general population of Africa was very poor.⁹ While much of Rome's grain came from the province, it was grown on vast estates by slaves, all owned by senatorial families. The province of Africa was poorer than that of Cyrenaica with its wealthy coastal cities, notably Leptis Magna, Sabratha, Cyrene, and Oea. The same distinction, although to a lesser degree, can be drawn between Noricum and the Danubian provinces of Pannonia and Raetia. Of these, Noricum was the wealthiest both in natural resources and in subsequent trade. It was also annexed earlier and more peacefully, especially compared with the Augustan operations to subdue Pannonia.

Can we then assign recruitment patterns to the desire of non-citizens in the poorest provinces for advancement? Perhaps that is part of the cause. We can certainly conclude that some of those who joined the fleet did so for the benefits it brought of regular pay, citizenship, discharge bonus, and the enfranchisement of their male descendants. These non-citizens, drawn from the poorest, least developed, least urbanized provinces, were given Roman names and training in the Roman fleet (often performing political as well as military duties). Those who survived were granted citizenship. If these recruiting practices are a sign of an imperial policy of Romanization, can we chart its success? Would the aim be the Romanization of an entire province or merely of an individual? If we take Thrace as an example, we can see that 58% of those sailors who identified themselves as Thracian and survived their service settled back

7 Starr 1960: 74.

8 This theme is explored by Tuck 2006 for Syrian sailors.

9 Mattingly 2011: ch. 6; Mattingly and Hitchner 1995: 174.

within Thrace as veterans. The remainder are found around the bases where they served and seem to have retired.

Age of Enlistment

When we turn to the questions of the age at enlistment and age at death, some interesting demographic patterns emerge. With age of enlistments we can compare the epigraphic sources from the different service branches. The legionary soldiers of the imperial army, for example, demonstrate a mean and modal average age of enlistment of twenty, with 62.6% of the soldiers enlisting between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one and another 24.2% between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-five (see Table 13.2). The median age is twenty-four and a half, with a standard deviation of 7.07, while the full range of age at enlistment is twenty-three years and spans from thirteen to thirty-six years of age. The mean average age is slightly lower for the Praetorian guard, at nineteen, but not dramatically so. Even accounting for age rounding, it is clear that the vast majority of legionary soldiers recruited into the army enlisted between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, and most did so between seventeen and twenty-one. There are only seven enlistees (1.6%) above the age of thirty and none above the age of thirty-six who did so. Based on the evidence of the epitaphs of soldiers, enlisting in the legions was almost exclusively undertaken by young men. For the imperial navy, however, the numbers tell a different story.

TABLE 13.2 *Age of enlistment of legionary soldiers (based on Scheidel 1996: Table 30.1)*

Age of enlistment	Number	Percent
13	1	0.2
14	6	1.1
15	12	2.3
16	12	2.3
17	17	3.3
18	55	10.4
19	53	10.1
20	140	26.8
21	62	11.9
22	41	7.8

TABLE 13.2 (*cont.*)

Age of enlistment	Number	Percent
23	41	7.8
24	21	4.0
25	24	4.6
26	8	1.5
27	6	1.1
28	9	1.7
29	4	0.8
30	3	0.6
31	3	0.6
32	0	0
33	1	0.2
34	2	0.4
35	0	0
36	2	0.4
Total:	523	100

The epitaphs of the sailors of the Roman imperial navy have a mean and modal enlistment age of twenty, identical with the legionary soldiers (see Table 13.3). The age range of seventeen to twenty-one accounts for 55% of enlistees, and that of twenty-two to twenty-five for another 26% – numbers that are comparable to but slightly lower than the same ranges for the army, which totaled 5% higher for those ages. The median age of twenty-five and a half years, with a standard deviation of 10.7, is slightly higher than in the legions. The most notable difference from the imperial army, however, occurs in the range of ages at enlistment, which varies from eight to fifty years of age, with a span of forty-two years, nineteen years more than for the legions. We might conclude that the variances from the army pattern were outliers, if the low and high ages were unique, but they are not. Nor does age-rounding account for ages of enlistment recorded as precisely eight and eleven years. From examining the grave markers personally, the readings seem to be accurate as well. The navy was evidently attracting young boys to fulfill positions in it, presumably as ship's boys, as in later navies, where they served officers and gained a sort of apprenticeship of a type not available in the Roman army. That this sort of

training occurred earlier in time than otherwise documented in the literary and documentary sources is new information but does not represent a pattern unknown in naval history.

TABLE 13.3 *Age of enlistment of sailors in the Roman imperial navy*

Age of enlistment	Number	Percent
8	1	0.4
11	3	1
15	5	2
16	2	0.8
17	11	5
18	21	9
19	16	7
20	56	24
21	23	10
22	24	10
23	13	5
24	14	6
25	11	5
26	6	3
27	3	1
28	5	2
29	1	0.4
30	5	2
32	4	2
34	1	0.4
35	3	1
37	2	0.8
38	2	0.8
40	3	1
43	1	0.4
47	1	0.4
50	1	0.4
Total:	238	100.8

The ages of enlistment, however, also include eighteen men (7.2%) who enlisted over the age of thirty. The Roman imperial navy was being used as both a primary and a secondary career in a way for which there is no evidence that the army operated. The lives and expectations for those whom we could term second-career enlistees would have had a number of differences from those who enlisted between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one. The extraordinary nature of this use of the navy as a second career is put into context by the service length for each branch. This is the length of service necessary before discharge with full benefits: legal marriage and formalized status for offspring, citizenship, discharge bonus, and possibly land in a colony.¹⁰ For legionary soldiers this was twenty years, while for the Praetorian Guard it was sixteen years. With the longest period of service of the branches, the navy required twenty-six years of service. Those enlisting at twenty would be granted their discharge diplomas and benefits at forty-six but the sailors who enlisted at age forty would have to serve at least until the age of sixty-six.

The epitaphs reveal the actual period of service recorded as well as age at death, providing some additional insight into the lives of sailors. For length of service recorded on naval gravestones we can calculate a mean of nineteen years and a range of two to forty-eight years. Clearly, a number of sailors died in service, while others served past the minimum requirement of twenty-six years. Typical of the latter is the epitaph of Flavius Maximus, a *miles* (literally soldier, probably here better translated as “marine”) of the fleet at Misenum, who died at the age of sixty after thirty-three years of service. (*CIL* 6.3110). His basic rank suggests that he was not promoted during his enlistment and so, although he served a long time, he was not advanced in rank for doing so. It is impossible to know why particular sailors continued to serve beyond their discharge date. Some may have done so voluntarily. Some, however, were certainly held in service during times of war (a practice referred to in modern U.S. military terminology as “stop-loss”). This policy of involuntary extension of a service member’s active duty status beyond the original term of commitment was used in the Roman navy and is attested during the civil war of 69 CE as well as during the major campaigns of Trajan. There is no reason to conclude that it was restricted to those two documented events.¹¹ The length of service raises the question of survival of service. To answer that question requires first addressing the age at death of naval enlistees.

10 The benefits and conditions of discharge are detailed in the surviving military discharge diplomas, a number of which record the retirements of members of the fleet. Superb examples include Pangerl, Eck and MacDonald 2002 and Paunov 2005.

11 Starr 1960: 94–96.

Age at Death, Survival and Life Expectancy

The age at death of naval personnel tabulated in Table 13.4 incorporates all of the information available from surviving and published epitaphs. As with the information on age at enlistment, this data suffers from age-rounding, with notable peaks in the numbers at regular five-year intervals. Thus all three of the averages – mean, mode and median – are forty. The range spans nineteen to sixty-eight years. Comparing the age at death of enlistees in the navy to their calculated life expectancies, an illuminating pattern emerges. Only 45% of those who enlisted at the mean average age of twenty survived their period of service. Those who enlisted later, notably the ones in their thirties or forties, eventually have statistically almost no chance of surviving to collect discharge benefits. Their enlistments might therefore have been for different purposes than the normally assumed “career” enlistees. They would not have benefited from the social mobility and lump sum bonuses afforded by full discharge. Instead, they would have gained other benefits, including the initial enlistment payment, regular pay, food, housing, medical care, and other short term perquisites. Clearly the reasons why one would join the navy, or any branch of Roman military service, were complex.

TABLE 13.4 *Age at death of sailors in the Roman imperial navy*

Age at Death	Number	Percent
19	2	0.9
20	2	0.9
21	1	0.4
22	2	0.9
23	2	0.9
25	10	4.9
26	2	0.9
27	3	1
28	7	3
30	21	9.9
31	1	0.4
32	9	4
33	1	0.4
35	15	7
36	6	3

TABLE 13.4 (cont.)

Age at Death	Number	Percent
37	6	3
38	9	4
39	1	0.9
40	26	12
41	1	0.9
43	5	2
44	4	2
45	13	6
46	4	1.9
47	3	1
48	5	2
49	2	0.9
50	19	9
51	2	0.9
53	5	5
54	2	0.9
55	2	0.9
56	1	0.4
58	2	0.9
60	11	5
61	1	0.4
62	1	0.4
63	1	0.4
65	2	0.9
68	1	0.4
Total:	212	100.7

The statistics also allow us to determine the likelihood that a recruit would survive to retirement and to compare that with the statistics for civilians. Calculating civilian life expectancy is difficult, since many demographic variables depend on methods used in gathering the data and in the evidence selected. Most authors use a variety of types of evidence, including skeletal remains, epigraphic and documentary sources (gravestones and census records in particular), and standard model life tables. One study of mortality

rates among Roman emperors, senators, and city officials, along with standard model life tables, suggests a mean life expectancy at birth of twenty-five to thirty years.¹² Of course, with naval enlistees, we have a subset of those who survived the high mortality of infancy and early childhood, which claimed as many as 30% of children. A more useful comparison may be drawn with life expectancy for those who reached the age of enlistment of fifteen or twenty. Using model life tables of mean life expectancy of twenty-five years at birth, as estimated for the Roman population, we would expect the mean number of additional years of life at age fifteen to be thirty-five and at age twenty to be thirty.¹³ Thus, those enlisting at the mean age of enlistment, according to modern tables, would have an age life expectancy of fifty years.

Another approach to calculating life expectancy is to calculate ranges from the life expectancy numbers found in an edited excerpt in Justinian's *Digest* (*Dig.* 35.2.68), which provides a rough table of life expectancy in the early third century CE.¹⁴ While the passage is not completely understood and the calculations are debated, nevertheless, if we accept Ulpian's numbers for the early third century, an adult male could expect to live forty-five years, whereas the naval personnel whose epitaphs we have display a mean average age at death of forty.¹⁵ This looks on the face of it as though an enlistee in signing-up took five years off his life. That might have been the case in some instances, but aggregate statistics cannot be used to predict individual probability, and there is circumstantial evidence that the numbers are skewed and are not a representative sample. Notably, the find-spots for many of these epitaphs are at or near naval bases, which suggests that a differential commemoration may have been taking place, that is, that those who died in service may have been likely to be commemorated here. Those who survived enlistment in many cases probably relocated away from the base. Their epitaphs, if they died later in life, might not have referred to their previous period of service at all.

It is somewhat surprising that the average life expectancy for the fleet is not lower than what is documented, given that it was a military population. On the other hand, combat mortality was evidently low for serving members of the armed forces, if we accept a calculated average combat mortality rate of 8.8% in the Republic and 2.6% in the Empire.¹⁶ Apparently the increased chance of

12 Scheidel 2001: 29.

13 Coale and Demeny 1983: 13 (Figure 1).

14 Frier 1982: 214–15.

15 Frier 1982: 236.

16 Scheidel 2007: 426.

death in combat was somewhat offset by mitigating factors such as improved food and medical care. Although there is no direct evidence of the naval diet in the Roman world, it stands to reason that sailors were fed well enough to prevent the chronic malnutrition faced by the rural poor, owing to a regular lack of protein and periodic crop failures. Medical care for fleet personnel, on the other hand, is documented, with doctors assigned to particular ports and ships indicating that the navy provided available, reliable medical care.¹⁷ Enlistees were drawn predominantly from the poor, probably the rural poor, given enlistment patterns, and therefore represent a subset of the population that almost certainly occupied the lower end of the range on life expectancy. While the evidence is not conclusive, it is suggestive that the apparent five-year gap in life expectancy between enlistees and the civilian population may in reality have been less, since sailors and marines, had they stayed poor civilians, might never have reached that average, owing to high mortality even among adult populations brought on by periodic disease coupled with chronic malnutrition.¹⁸

Families and Commemoration

Finally, an analysis of the epitaphs gives us critical information about the families and patterns of commemoration for deceased members of the fleet, as well as their own practices in commemorating family. The epithets utilized in the epitaphs reveal the conventional vocabulary commemoration but also arguably actual feelings of mourning, notably when these break the formulaic patterns seen throughout this form of inscription. Naturally, with epitaphs there can be only a limited range of conventional emotional display. Be that as it may, there are some notable numbers here as well. Whereas more than 90% of civilian males were commemorated by members of their nuclear family, for the military that percent drops dramatically to 30% to 40%.¹⁹ Instead,

17 Nutton 1970: 66–71; Starr 1960: 81.

18 Much recent work has been done on mortality and the Roman poor, especially the rural poor, using a variety of approaches, including epigraphical evidence (Scheidel 2006) and skeletal remains (Bisel 1991; Craig et al. 2009; Floud et al. 2011). A broader view of the subject from the perspective of food supply is found in Garnsey 1988. Scheidel 2001: 28–31 comparatively analyzes wealth, urban and rural locations, and social class as variables affecting mortality. Parkin 1992 attempts to take all forms of evidence into account in his demographic study; a more detailed and recent attempt is de Ligt 2012.

19 For the civilian commemoration numbers, see Saller and Shaw 1984.

members of the military are often commemorated by fellow members of their service branch, as in the third and fourth inscriptions presented at the start of this essay. The use of the epithet “brother” in the Praetorian epitaph indicates the notional family that the military is providing to its members.

When we examine more conventional family relationships, we see that members of the navy “married” younger than those in other branches of service, with the mean age of marriage being in their late twenties, comparable to the civilian population, rather than the averages for the army: thirties for the Danubian legions and forties for the African legions.²⁰ The term “married” is used here advisedly. As is well known, before the third century members of the services could not legally marry while in active duty, but soldiers and sailors clearly considered their relationships to have the force of marriage.²¹ Who their wives were bears some thought. In some cases they might have come from previous relationships, prior to enlistment, but the figure of a minimum of 25% of sailors and marines being commemorated by freedwomen suggests that their “spouses” were the result of relationships begun while in service and with slaves whom they freed either during their lives or on their deaths. In this model, we can see the result of enlistment being a form of direct, low-status Romanization, inasmuch as not only veterans (assuming they survived to such status) but spouses and offspring as well would become Roman citizens.

Conclusion

This work gives us an idea about the lives and deaths of members of the imperial navy, allows us to distinguish between the branches of service in their lives, careers, and origins, and illuminates the role of the navy as a venue for Romanization but also as an avenue for a career or second-career in the Roman world. Did service in the fleet offer any real improvement in the overall well-being of the enlistees? Clearly their life expectancy did not rise, but the existence of “second career” enlistees indicates that some, at least, believed that there would be such an improvement. Whether that belief or hope equated with actual material or social benefits is difficult to determine. It is likely, however, that any increased mortality from military activity was offset by the improved living conditions, including regular meals and medical care, that the fleet provided. These may have balanced the wretched living conditions of the urban poor, or even of the rural poor, whose lives of endless agricultural

20 Scheidel 1996: 129–30.

21 On the marriage ban and its practical effects, see Phang 2001: 142–96.

toil might have precipitated their enlistment. One final thought. The coincidence of life expectancy and period of service being almost exactly the same, along with Ulpian's evidence that the Romans were aware of life expectancy numbers and could calculate them, raises the interesting possibility that the Roman government knew that they were creating a system of retirement benefits for which they would almost never have to pay.

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Military Epitaphs in Mogontiacum and Carnuntum in the First and Early Second Centuries CE

Nadya Popov

Introduction

Sometime in the second half of the first century CE, one Lucius Plotidius Vitalis, a perfectly ordinary first-born son from the north Italian town of Bononia, decided to enlist in the Roman army. At the age of twenty-seven, he was substantially older than the typical legionary recruit – most of his fellow-soldiers had enlisted around the age of twenty.¹ Presumably, he had first tried civilian life and a regular occupation in his hometown, but having found no opportunities for advancement, decided to try his fortunes elsewhere. Enrolled in the *Legio xv Apollinaris*, which recruited heavily in the region, L. Plotidius then spent the remaining twenty-three years of his life searching for fortune, excitement, and love – all while in the service of Rome.² While it is unclear whether he found the first two, he certainly did find love. When he died at the age of fifty, while stationed with the rest of his legion in the military fort of Carnuntum in Upper Pannonia, one Annia Maxima paid for his epitaph, which she dedicated “to her dearest husband” (*viro suo carissimo*).³

The depth of detail inscribed on L. Plotidius’s gravestone made it possible for anyone who came across his epitaph to learn a general outline of his life-story. Indeed, the length of the epitaph, combined with the quality of the inscription, might have suggested that he was a man of significance in the Roman

1 On average ages of recruitment see above in this volume, chapter 13, by S. Tuck, 212–29. For the abbreviations used in citing the sources of legionary epitaphs, see the list at the end of the Appendix, p. 244.

2 Bononia was likely a site of especially heavy recruitment for both the legions and the navy, as it was a location of strategic importance for access to the Danube frontier and had a naval base (Wilkes 2005: 148 and 153).

3 For the complete text of the epitaph, see Vorbeck 1980: 77. Like many of the inscriptions discussed in this paper, this epitaph is not included in *CIL*. Notably, as the wording of the epitaph suggests, Annia Maxima (and, presumably, Lucius Plotidius), were undeterred by legal technicalities: until the late second century CE, legionaries were not permitted to marry. Cf. Campbell 1978.

army. Nothing could be further from the truth. As his epitaph clearly states, L. Plotidius was merely a *miles* – a common soldier. Moreover, little is remarkable about this particular inscription. Epitaphs of this nature, with abundant details about the life of the deceased and found in military forts throughout the Roman empire, show a widespread preference by soldiers for burial at their place of service, close to their new military “family,” rather than at or near the homes they left.⁴ L. Plotidius could have been a veteran – he had served for twenty-three years, three years longer than required for retirement – but he evidently died while still in service.⁵ Inscriptions of this sort are one of the best sources available for studying the Roman army in war and in peace, as well as the army’s interaction with the civilian population in provincial forts. While these documents have received a significant degree of scholarly attention over the past few decades, there is still much information that can be gleaned from them by applying a different methodological approach and asking some new questions.

At the Second International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in 1952, Eric Birley delivered a paper on the state of the epigraphy of the Roman army as a discipline at the time, and the work that could still be done with the available evidence. The topics to which Birley urged his fellow epigraphists to turn concerned mainly the logistics of the Roman army at war: put simply, how did the Roman army work? What were the functions of the troops of different ranks, and what was the shape of their careers? In answering these questions, Birley emphasized the significance, *inter alia*, of epitaphs.⁶ Since Birley’s memorable call-to-arms, however, the academic community has experienced the rise of the “new” military history. As socio-cultural approaches to the ancient military have taken flight, epigraphical studies of the Roman army have undergone a corresponding transformation. A majority of recent studies of the epigraphic record of Roman legions has followed the same methodology: scholars select

4 The authoritative study of the family-like relationship between soldiers in the Roman legions remains MacMullen 1984. For the different types of family relationships acknowledged on Roman imperial epitaphs, see Saller and Shaw 1984. See also Keppie 1997: 100 for a discussion of the increasingly common preference of Italian-born legionaries, already under the Julio-Claudians, not to return home after completing their terms of service. The same image emerges from Alföldy’s 1964 study of the taxation of veterans in Dalmatia: veterans were eager to retire where they had served.

5 For a cavalryman of *Legio xv*, also buried in Carnuntum sometime in the first century CE, who had served for twenty-five years at the time of death, see Stiglitz 1985. More generally on the phenomenon of soldiers in the early Empire staying in the legions beyond their regular term of service, see Southern 2007: 99.

6 The essay has been republished as Birley 1988. Birley 1988: 5.

one province or one particular fort and study the record left therein by one or more legions that have been stationed in that particular location.⁷ The focus on inscriptions from just one area, however, while productive in studying the social history of a particular fort or region, is artificially static and fails to account for a significant degree of mobility of Roman legions under the Empire.⁸

In considering some topics, such as those of the persistence of a given legion's epigraphic habit over time, a more productive approach is to study inscriptions of a single legion in several areas, as has been done successfully with the brick-stamps of the *Legio XIV Gemina*.⁹ The fact that the brick-stamps of the *Legio XIV Gemina* remained similar over time (there are several different types, and the same types recur in all the locations where the legion was stationed) indicates a surprising continuity in the legion's epigraphic habit, despite its mobility, and could be seen as evidence for the individuality of the epigraphic "footprint" of a given legion. The question of whether or not a sense of legion-wide identity was maintained through the inscriptions of a given legion can only be addressed, however, via a comparative study of at least two legions.

Such a study has not yet been attempted, as most studies of inscriptions involving multiple legions in multiple locations have focused on particular thematic or linguistic issues.¹⁰ Even the studies of the Roman army as a community, which might be expected to encompass within their purview the issue of legion-specific identity, have mainly followed the predominant

7 E.g., Baatz 1962 and Hope 2000 on the military fort and inscriptions at Mogontiacum; Birley 1986 on the inscriptions from the fort at Deva; Šašel 1995 on the *Legio XV Apollinaris* in Emona; Hope 1997 on Roman military inscriptions in Britain; Alston 1995 on the social history of Roman soldiers and veterans in Egypt, mainly Karanis; and Keppie 2000a on colonies of veterans in Italy in the first century CE.

8 For a summary of the movements of the legions under the Empire, see Farnum 2005: 34–41.

9 Brandl 1996. Cf. also Tomlin 1992, for a study considering the presence of one legion in two different locations; Dabrowa 1993, on the inscriptions of the officers from the *Legio X Fretensis*; and Manning 2000, for a study of the six fortresses of *Legio XX* in Britain.

10 For studies of thematic issues, see, e.g., Horsfall 1999, on the nature of epitaphs as autobiographies, Hope 2003, on the commemoration of Roman soldiers in peace and war-time, and Carroll 2006, for a more holistic study of Roman epitaphs as dialogues of the dead with the living. Studies of specific terminology in military inscriptions include Képartova's 1986 examination of the language of brotherhood in epitaphs (mainly *frater*), and Lendon's 2006 article on three technical terms used to express relationships between soldiers – *commanipularis*, *contubernalis*, and *commilito*. Both studies concluded that none of the terms is used literally.

model of focusing on a single legion in a single location.¹¹ These approaches to legionary inscriptions leave unanswered questions of individuality of record legion-wide.¹² For instance, did every legion develop its own epigraphic habit? Was there a clearly defined legion-specific epigraphic identity? How, if at all, would the movement of a legion from one permanent location to another have affected the epigraphic habit of not only itself but of any legion with which it came into contact in the new location?

This paper attempts to address these questions, and to show that they are not only worth asking, but are possible to answer, given the nature of the evidence available for some legions.¹³ Specifically, I consider soldiers' epitaphs from the first century CE at Mogontiacum (modern-day Mainz), and from the first century and the first quarter of the second century CE at Carnuntum (modern-day Petronell, near Vienna). The fruitfulness of studying the epigraphic habit of the Roman Empire through epitaphs has previously been demonstrated by Elizabeth Meyer.¹⁴ The two locations selected for this study were chosen because both were major forts, the seats of the governors of the provinces of Germania Superior and Pannonia Superior respectively. Each fort had one legion present during most of the first century – the *xiv Gemina* at Mogontiacum, and the *xv Apollinaris* at Carnuntum. Toward the end of the first century, however, the *xiv Gemina* moved to Carnuntum, where it briefly overlapped with the *xv Apollinaris*.¹⁵

This presence of two legions with different backgrounds in the same fort presents an opportunity for undertaking a different type of comparative

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- 11 See MacMullen 1984, for the first major study on the topic. More recently, see Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999.
 - 12 Note, however, Hope 2000 and 2003: 84–87, who demonstrates through an analysis of gravestone sculptures a desire to express individuality in the commemoration of Roman soldiers in peacetime.
 - 13 MacMullen 1982 and Meyer 1990 have shown that it is possible to study broadly the epigraphic habit of the entire Roman Empire.
 - 14 Meyer 1990 uses epitaphs of both soldiers and civilians to explain a pattern of extensive dedication of epitaphs in the first and second centuries CE, followed by an abrupt decline in their numbers in the third century. The key, she argues, is citizenship: during the first two centuries, those who had recently acquired citizenship were eager to advertise their relatively new Roman status in epitaphs. After Caracalla's universal grant of citizenship in 212 CE, however, citizenship was no longer a mark of special honor, so the previous use of epitaphs to indicate special status lost its significance.
 - 15 The *terminus ante quem* for the transfer of the *Legio xiv Gemina* to Carnuntum and the transfer of the *Legio xv Apollinaris* out of the fort is 120 CE, but the exact dates of departure are unknown.

epigraphic case study than has typically been attempted, one with broader implications for the methodology of the study of military epitaphs in the Roman Empire. I begin with a consideration of the similarities and differences between the individual epigraphic habits of these two legions. Specifically, I consider the standard information and formulae regularly included in the soldiers' epitaphs of each legion in its first location, and ask whether there are differences in the standard information provided in each before they are stationed together. A comparative examination of the epigraphic record of the *xiv Gemina* at Mogontiacum and the *xv Apollinaris* at Carnuntum precedes a consideration of how the epigraphic record of both was affected by the move of the *xiv Gemina* to Carnuntum. I argue that the interaction of the two legions at Carnuntum, however brief, affected their epigraphic records in subtle ways, even as each legion retained certain features unique to its epitaphs. Finally, since my approach deviates from the more common method in recent scholarship, in the final part of the paper, I consider the larger ramifications of my approach for future study of Roman legionary inscriptions.

The History of *Legio xiv Gemina* and *Legio xv Apollinaris*

The decade following the Battle of Philippi in 42 BCE was a period of reorganization in the Roman army, just as much as in the Roman state. L. Keppie has argued that this decade saw the transformation of the Republican army into the Imperial army, a development that was finalized following the defeat of Mark Antony at Actium in 31 BCE.¹⁶ In the process, some legions were reformed (e.g., *Legio vii* and *viii*); others were combined with others (e.g., *x Gemina*) or were created from scratch (e.g., Octavian's new legions that duplicated numbers of pre-existing legions, such as *v*, *vi*, and *x Fretensis*). It is uncertain to which of these categories the *Legio xiv Gemina* belongs. It may have been descended from Caesar's *Legio xiv*, which was raised in 57 BCE, or it may have been a new legion raised by Octavian after Philippi. The title "Gemina" (Twin) suggests that it was combined with parts of another legion after the Battle of Actium.¹⁷

Following a stint in Illyricum in the early imperial period, *Legio xiv Gemina* was stationed in Mogontiacum, the seat of the governor of Germania Superior, from 10 CE to around 92 CE, with the exception of the years 43–70, during most

¹⁶ Keppie 1994: 133–36.

¹⁷ Farnum 2005: 23 assumes that this is the same legion as the one that was raised by Caesar, and that it acquired the title "Gemina" following Actium. Cf. Birley 1928 for a discussion of the use of the title "Gemina" in the nomenclature of another legion – the *Seventh*.

of which the legion was in Britain. In 60–61, the legion distinguished itself by defeating Boudicca. Its reward was the addition of two new titles to its name by Nero: *Martia Victrix* (“Martial” and “Victorious”).¹⁸ In the civil wars of 68–69, *Legio XIV*, initially loyal to Nero until his death, subsequently made a bad judgment call in fighting for Otho, but this mistake appears not to have been held against it by Vespasian.¹⁹ Another mistake in judgment, however, was more serious. In 89 CE, the governor of Germania Superior, L. Antonius Saturninus, revolted from the empire, launching his own bid for power with the full support of the *Legio XIV Gemina*. The revolt was very short-lived, as Lappius Maximus, governor of Germania Inferior, engaged Saturninus in battle and killed him before the arrival of the Emperor Domitian with his army. The consequence of the revolt for *Legio XIV Gemina* was a transfer to the Danube, and eventually to the fort of Carnuntum sometime around 114 CE, where the legion remained for the rest of the Roman period.²⁰

The origins of the *Legio XV Apollinaris* are somewhat more clear. Raised by Octavian in 43 BCE, the legion was nicknamed “Apollinaris” – after Apollo, Octavian’s patron god – after Actium. Like *XIV Gemina*, *Legio XV* served in Illyricum in the Augustan period. Transferred to Pannonia in 14 CE, the legion was assigned patrol duty on the Danube frontier. A permanent camp was then built around 35–40 CE, and the legion remained there until 62. In 62 *Legio XV* was dispatched to a series of eastern campaigns, first to Armenia and, eventually, under the command of the future emperor Titus, to Judaea, where the legion distinguished itself in the Jewish War. The legion returned to Carnuntum around the year 74, and sometime around 114 was joined in the fort by *XIV Gemina*, its eventual replacement.²¹ Part of *XV Apollinaris* took part in Trajan’s Dacian Wars of 101–102 and 105–106, and sometime around 120, the entire legion was transferred to Satala in Cappadocia, where it was stationed until Late Antiquity. Notably, during Trajan’s rule Pannonia was divided into two separate provinces. Carnuntum thereafter gained further importance as the seat of the governor of Pannonia Superior.

In a story repeated in many a Roman frontier town, the forts of both Mogontiacum and Carnuntum grew into full-fledged cities, with thriving

18 Cf. Keppie 1994: 136–39 on honorary titles and epithets for early imperial legions.

19 See Chilver 1957: 31 for a discussion of the loyalty of *Legio XIV* to Nero.

20 See Farnum 2005: 23 for an outline of all the known movements of both *Legio XIV* and *Legio XV*, and approximate dates for the presence of each legion in each location.

21 Cf. Keppie 1994: 196 for the sole dissenter’s hypothesis that *Legio XV* never returned to Carnuntum from the East.

civilian settlements existing outside the walled camps.²² Several hundreds of well-preserved military burial inscriptions have been recovered from the legions that were stationed in the two forts. Admixed are burial inscriptions for children and other family members of military personnel.²³

In this paper I employ a sample of thirty-seven inscriptions of the *Legio XIV Gemina* from Mogontiacum, and ninety-six inscriptions from Carnuntum, of which eleven are from *Legio XIV Gemina* and eighty-five from *xv Apollinaris*.²⁴ I consciously included in the sample inscriptions that are mostly complete, since fragmentary stones with merely an indication of the legion's number on them could not yield information about formulae expressing legion-specific preferences.²⁵ The inscriptions are all from the period before the transfer of *Legio xv* to Satala around the year 120. Notably, although most of the inscriptions from Carnuntum and some of those from Mogontiacum discussed in this paper have not made their way into *CIL*, they have been published with beautiful photographs in separate collections and museum catalogs.²⁶

The Legion as a Society? The Epigraphic Characters of *Legio XIV Gemina* and *Legio xv Apollinaris*

The epitaphs of the *Legio XIV Gemina* at Mogontiacum and the epitaphs of *Legio xv Apollinaris* at Carnuntum before the transfer of *Legio XIV Gemina*

22 For the transformation of military forts into full-fledged towns, see Keppie 2000b. Cf. Sommer 1999 for the effect of auxiliary forts on the rise of civilian settlements in Germania Superior and Raetia. Sommer concludes (92) that the forts not only fulfilled the purpose of stabilizing and protecting the Rhine frontier but also were “used by the Roman administration as a deliberate instrument of colonisation and settlement”.

23 For example, Vetters 1972.

24 See Appendix 1 for a full list of the inscriptions used in the sampling.

25 I excluded such items as the extremely fragmentary epitaph for a soldier in *Legio xv* in Carnuntum, published in Zabelicky 1985.

26 The problem of locating the resources, when working on the epigraphy of the Roman army is an old one – see Birley 1988: 8 for a mournful complaint on the issue. For the Mogontiacum inscriptions, the best (and most easily accessible) publications are Seltzer 1988 and Boppert 1992. The Carnuntum military inscriptions, many of which are not in *CIL*, have been conveniently assembled in one volume by Vorbeck 1980. Finally the *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg* now makes all of these inscriptions available online, along with the complete bibliography on every individual stone. In this paper, I give the *HD* number (from the *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*) for those inscriptions that are not in *CIL* or for which I did not consult the *CIL*.

to that fort suggest that while certain types of language and formulae were common to epitaphs of all Roman legionaries, each legion encouraged the development of a particular format in its epitaphs. While no studies have yet been done on legionary stone-cutters, it is likely that the standardization of spelling, formulae, and format in epitaphs of a single legion was as much due to the use of the same cutter or group of cutters as it was to conscious desire to fit in with one's fellow-soldiers. For the purposes of this paper, however, the focus is on the content of the inscriptions alone.

A consideration of the standard information and formulae included by both legions reveals several significant patterns. To begin with the least surprising, the name of the deceased is always included on the epitaph. This includes the *praenomen*, *nomen*, father's name in the filiation, usually tribe name, and often – but not always – the *cognomen*. If we assume that soldiers who bear the same *praenomen* as their fathers were first-born, as was common, the overwhelming majority of the soldiers who get burials at both Mogontiacum and Carnuntum are first-born sons.²⁷ This is somewhat surprising, since one might have expected the first-born sons to stay at home and inherit the family land, if any were available. The fact that these soldiers were present in both legions suggests that such enrolling of first-born sons in the legions was not peculiar to just one legion, but may have been common practice.

Given the burial place of these soldiers at their place of service, it is reasonable to expect their cities of origin to be included on the inscriptions, and indeed, the city or town of origin is often, though not always, included. This information is omitted more often in the inscriptions of *Legio XV Apollinaris* (in fifteen of the eighty-five inscriptions in my sample) than in inscriptions of *Legio XIV* at either Mogontiacum or Carnuntum.²⁸ Notably, while most soldiers in the *Legio XIV Gemina* derive from northern Italy (e.g., Pollentia, Cremona, Verona, Mutina, Mediolanum, and Forum Vibii), with just a few Gauls (e.g., Tolosa), *Legio XV* appears to have been more diverse in its recruitment efforts, with soldiers from such varied locations as nearby Vienna, Syria

27 At least twenty of thirty-seven epitaphs of *Legio XIV Gemina* at Mogontiacum are for first-born sons, and that number may be higher, as several inscriptions are incomplete, and the father's name is missing. Ten of eleven epitaphs of *Legio XIV Gemina* at Carnuntum are for first-born sons, as are forty-five of eighty-five of *Legio XV Apollinaris* at Carnuntum. See Appendix for the full list of epitaphs in the sample for first-born sons.

28 Cf. Carroll 2006: 211–217 for an examination of soldiers' mobility. Carroll selects four legions stationed in Mogontiacum up to 69 /70 CE as her case study. In the process, she looks at many of the same inscriptions of *Leg. XIV Gemina* that I consider as well, and concludes that 97% of the legion's soldiers originated from Italy and Gaul.

(e.g., Antiochia), Greece (e.g., Philippi, Thessalonica, and Chalcis), northern Italy (e.g., Verona), and southern Gaul (e.g., Arelate). Enforcing a uniform format in the epitaphs of the legion, therefore, emphasizes further the priority of these soldiers' identities as members of the same legion over their previous civic origins.

Three additional pieces of information are typically included in the majority of the inscriptions of both legions. First, the number and name of the legion typically follows the soldier's name and place of origin, with the soldier's century occasionally indicated as well.²⁹ The inclusion of the century information in twelve out of eighty-five inscriptions of *Legio XV* at Carnuntum suggests the existence of century-specific pride, alongside pride in one's legionary identity. Second, typically included with information about the legion is the soldier's position in it, such as *eques Legionis XIV Geminae* (cavalryman) or *miles Legionis XV Apollinaris* (foot-soldier). Third, the number of years of service and the age of the deceased are usually included next in the epitaphs of both legions, following the identification of the soldier's military position and his legion. A curious difference, however, exists in the order of this information in the epitaphs. In epitaphs of the *Legio XIV Gemina* in Mogontiacum, the age of the soldier is always stated first on the epitaph, and the number of the soldier's years of military service follows after: for example, *annorum XXX, stipendiorum XV*.³⁰ The order of age and years of service, however, is reversed in most (but not all) of the inscriptions of the *Legio XV Apollinaris* prior to the arrival of the *Legio XIV Gemina* in Carnuntum: for example, *stipendiorum VIII, annorum XXX*. This minor discrepancy is maintained in the inscriptions of the two legions even after the move of *Legio XIV Gemina* to Carnuntum. This variation on a common formula might seem insignificant in and of itself, but combined with several other such minor variations, it is suggestive of the existence of legion-specific epigraphic preferences.

The formula "*hic situs est*" "here (the deceased) has been buried", abbreviated as "*h. s. e.*," typically follows the age and years of service of the deceased in the epitaph. This formula is present on virtually every epitaph of both legions, both before and after the move of *Legio XIV* to Carnuntum, and thus appears to have been an important statement to include on military epitaphs. In an age where recovery of battle dead may have been challenging, the emphasis that

29 Examples include *HD* 000809, *HD* 004576, and *HD* 028522.

30 The exceptional use of "aerorum" instead of "stipendiorum" in *CIL* 13.6885, combined with some additional exceptional spelling and phrasing in the epitaph, suggests that this epitaph was perhaps made by a different cutter than the one typically used by the legion. Since this epitaph is for a retired veteran, the use of a different cutter is not so surprising.

the body of the deceased was truly in the grave served to show the dedication of his fellow-soldiers to him, and was a comfort to the living soldiers that their bodies as well will receive a burial.³¹

The expense involved in putting up a stone inscription makes it logical to expect information to be provided on who put it up. Indeed, as Elizabeth Meyer shows in her discussion of the epigraphic habit of the Roman Empire, the significant space given to the dedicator in Roman epitaphs often rivals the attention given to the deceased.³² This empire-wide trend, however, is markedly challenged in the extant epitaphs of both legions under discussion in this paper. In the vast majority of the epitaphs – thirty-two of thirty-seven of the epitaphs of *Legio XIV* from Mogontiacum, and fifty-three of eighty-five of *Legio XV* epitaphs from Carnuntum – the name of the dedicator is not disclosed. Although the relationship of the dedicator to the deceased is always stated, it is often presented as a vague “*heres*” (heir), “*frater*” (brother-in-arms), or “*municipes*” (townsman). The common absence of specific information on the sponsor of the inscription likely points to an unspoken agreement in both legions that the focus in epitaphs of soldiers must be on the dead, rather than on the living, in order to divert all of the attention of the reader to the deceased.

Intersection and Influence

The move of the *Legio XIV Gemina* to Carnuntum, and its brief overlap with the *Legio XV Apollinaris* there had some impact on both legions, as the slight changes in their epigraphic records indicate. One of the most obvious effects of the move to Carnuntum on the epigraphic habit of the *Legio XIV Gemina* is its subsequent adoption of a generally common formula on Roman epitaphs – “*D. M.*” (*Dis Manibus*). Unattested on epitaphs from the period of the *Legio XIV*’s tenure at Mogontiacum, “*D. M.*” begins to be included regularly at the beginning of the inscriptions of *Legio XIV* at Carnuntum in the early second century.

Several additional trends are visible. Naming the heir in the inscription is much more common in the inscriptions of *Legio XV* than in those of *Legio XIV*. In fact, after *Legio XIV* moved to Carnuntum, all inscriptions thereafter end with the formulaic phrase “*testamento fieri iussit; heres faciendum curavit.*” (“[the deceased] ordered [this stone] to be made in his will; the heir took care

31 Cf. Vaughn 1991 for a detailed description of the challenges of recovering the battle-dead after hoplite battles. Hope 2003: 85 suggests that all epitaphs in military forts are for soldiers who did not die on the battlefield but during peacetime in the fort.

32 Meyer 1990: 75–78.

that it was done.”). This phrase, which had occurred in a few inscriptions of *Legio XIV* at Mogontiacum, was not frequently used until after the move. At the same time, while acknowledged dedications by brothers were reasonably common during the stay of *Legio XIV* at Mogontiacum, dedicators no longer regularly referred to themselves as brothers in Carnuntum. This suggests that “*frater*” (brother) was not a commonly accepted way for soldiers stationed at Carnuntum to refer to each other.³³

Taken individually, the changes in the epigraphic habit of the *Legio XIV Gemina* from Mogontiacum to Carnuntum are rather minor and may not appear significant. Since, however, these changes correspond to the formulaic preferences of the *Legio XV* in Carnuntum, the coincidence suggests an influence of the established legion in the fort on the newcomer. Notably, a related question of significance that cannot be answered based on the present evidence is that of inter-legionary ties and friendships: were any of the men from one legion buried by a friend from another, or did the legionaries from the two legions mainly see each other as competition? In any case, the influence of the epitaphs of the *Legio XV* on *Legio XIV* makes it clear that interaction between the men of the two legions was unavoidable in life as well as in death.

Conclusion: Methodology and Further Avenues of Research

As the comparative case study of the inscriptions of these two legions from two different forts suggests, the prevalent methodology of studying inscriptions of just one locale leaves out certain crucial questions about factors that influenced the development of different legions’ epigraphic habits over time. Legions did not exist in a vacuum, and in their movements from fort to fort, they were able to influence each other’s epigraphic record. At the same time, individual legions did have specific epigraphic characters, as shown by a preference for certain formulae and the order of the information in epitaphs. The present line of inquiry thus gives rise to several new questions regarding the social dynamics of the Roman legions and their interactions with each other. The existence of epigraphic individuality specific to each legion certainly suggests the presence of legionary pride. But as we consider the resulting picture

33 With the exception of three inscriptions that state the names of the dedicators, and make it clear that they are indeed blood-brothers – Gaius Donius Suavis and Lucius Donius Albanus (HD056026 / *CIL* 6892 at Mogontiacum); Marcus Cassius and Gaius Cassius (HD020335 at Mogontiacum); and Gnaeus Musius and Marcus Musius (Sel. 30 / *CIL* 6901) – the rest of the dedications by a “*frater*” simply refer to a strong friendship.

of a legion as a society, further attention needs to be paid to another question: what kind of society? For instance, the inscriptions for centurions follow the same format as those for common soldiers, but does this mean that soldiers of all ranks interacted together and saw each other, first and foremost, as members of the same unit in life?

A related question that deserves investigation is whether or not a similar level of individuality existed in epitaphs for auxiliaries and, moreover, whether auxiliaries attempted to forge an identity together with the rest of their legion, or whether they preferred to separate themselves. An additional question to pursue in the future is whether this legion-specific individuality manifests itself in dedicatory inscriptions of legions as well, or whether it was specific to epitaphs. Furthermore, what was the degree of interaction between soldiers of different legions serving in the same fort? Does the influence of one legion's epigraphic record on another indicate a degree of interaction between the legionaries, or could it have been simply due to the use of the same stone-cutters by everyone serving in the same fort? A study of Roman legionary stone-cutters is thus urgently needed, in order to determine whether or not it is possible to identify inscriptions carved by the same individual, akin to what Stephen Tracy has done for Attic stone-cutters.³⁴ Finally, given the standard requirements to which the vast majority of each legion's epitaphs conform, more attention needs to be paid to the few inscriptions that deviate from the norm, in order to identify the reasons for these deviations and their significance. For example, why did one soldier of *Legio XIV Gemina* in Carnuntum set up the same epitaph for his two-year old son and his father-in-law, a soldier of the same legion?³⁵ And, more intriguingly, why was most of the epitaph for one Lucius Antonius Senilicus, a soldier of the *Legio XIV Gemina* in Mogontiacum, meticulously erased, while his name and legionary identity were left intact?³⁶ The consideration of these exceptions is beyond the scope of the present paper, but it is tempting to speculate that the original inscription for Lucius Antonius was adjusted based on an order (from whom?) because it did not conform to the standard expectations for the legion's epitaphs.

34 Tracy 1975, 1990, and 2003.

35 *CIL* 3.4467 and *HD* 061023.

36 Seltzer 1988: no. 20. This inscription is not in *CIL*, and does not appear to be included in *HD*.

Appendix

TABLE 14.1 *Inscriptions of Legio XIV Gemina and Legio XV Apollinaris from Mogontiacum and Carnuntum (epitaphs of presumed first-born sons marked with *)*

Leg. XIV Gemina, Mogontiacum	Leg. XV Apollinaris, Carnuntum
Sel. 20*	HD046298
Sel. 22 / <i>CIL</i> 6886*	HD000675
Sel. 23 / <i>CIL</i> 6910	HD004462 / Vor. 139
Sel. 26 / <i>CIL</i> 7255*	HD004489 / Vor. 166
Sel. 27 / <i>CIL</i> 6893	HD000298 and HD004570 / Vor. 212
Sel. 30 / <i>CIL</i> 6901	HD046296 /
Sel. 31 / <i>CIL</i> 6902	<i>CIL</i> 14358 ¹⁴ / Vor. 167
Sel. 36 / HD018355*	HD053767*
<i>CIL</i> 6911 / HD001404*	HD053768
HD004477*	HD000672*
HD004490*	HD000797
HD016942*	HD000809 / Vor. 155*
HD020335*	HD000812 / Vor. 170
HD020338	HD000812
HD021193	HD004378 / Vor. 180*
<i>CIL</i> 6909 and <i>CIL</i> 6918*	HD004567 / Vor. 199
<i>CIL</i> 6885	HD004576 / Vor. 179*
<i>CIL</i> 6888	HD004579 / Vor. 215
<i>CIL</i> 6889*	HD004594 / Vor. 190*
<i>CIL</i> 6892	HD004597 / Vor. 201*
<i>CIL</i> 6894*	HD004939 / Vor. 184*
<i>CIL</i> 6896*	HD007251 / Vor. 186*
<i>CIL</i> 6897	HD011351 / Vor. 205*
<i>CIL</i> 6898*	HD016073 / Vor. 228
<i>CIL</i> 6900	HD017945 / Vor. 200*
<i>CIL</i> 6904*	HD019048 / Vor. 208
<i>CIL</i> 6905*	HD020008 / Vor. 194*
<i>CIL</i> 6906B*	HD020422 / Vor. 235*
<i>CIL</i> 6907*	HD023081 / Vor. 156*
<i>CIL</i> 6908*	<i>CIL</i> 13483 / HD023084 / Vor. 182*
<i>CIL</i> 6914	HD023090 / Vor. 209
<i>CIL</i> 6915	HD023096 / Vor. 195
<i>CIL</i> 6917	HD023445 / Vor. 204*

Leg. xiv Gemina, Mogontiacum

Leg. xv Apollinaris, Carnuntum

CIL 6919

HD024324 / Vor. 191

CIL 6920

HD024643 / Vor. 224*

CIL 6921

HD024646 / Vor. 225*

CIL 6937*

HD024649 / Vor. 207

Leg. xiv Gemina, Carnuntum

HD024652 / Vor. 178*

HD004585 / Vor. 93

HD024655 / Vor. 196*

HD004588 / Vor. 87*

HD024658 / Vor. 236

HD004591 / Vor. 99*

HD024661 / Vor. 157*

HD011357 / Vor. 105*

HD024664 / Vor. 158*

HD017904 / Vor. 82

HD024667 / Vor. 147*

HD024634 / Vor. 88*

HD024670 / Vor. 202*

HD024637 / Vor. 96*

HD024673 / Vor. 172*

HD024640 / Vor. 97*

HD024676 / Vor. 165

HD027229 / Vor. 52

HD024679 / Vor. 183*

CIL 14358 / Vor. 106

HD024682 / Vor. 185*

CIL 4467 / HD061023*

HD024685 / Vor. 211

HD024706 / Vor. 223

HD024709 / Vor. 163*

HD024715 / Vor. 238*

HD027217 / Vor. 198

HD027220 / Vor. 144

HD027223 / Vor. 247

HD027226 / Vor. 230

HD027229*

HD027771 / Vor. 232

HD028516 / Vor. 141*

CIL 14358^{15a} / HD028519 / Vor. 169*

HD028522 / Vor. 186*

HD028525 / Vor. 150

HD028528 / Vor. 205*

HD046294*

HD046295*

HD046297

HD046299

HD046302*

HD046304*

HD047140

HD051083 / Vor. 206*

HD060925 / Vor. 227

TABLE 14.1 (*cont.*)

Leg. XIV Gemina, Mogontiacum	Leg. XV Apollinaris, Carnuntum
	HD060931
	HD061016 / Vor. 240
	HD061018 / Vor. 174*
	HD061021 / Vor. 177*
	CIL 4483 / HD061033*
	CIL 13486 / HD061039
	CIL 14359 / HD061040
	HD061049*
	HD061053 / Vor. 171
	HD061066 / Vor. 138*
	HD061068 / Vor. 173
	HD061170
	HD061069*
	HD061020 / Vor. 175

CIL = CIL XIII
HD = *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*
Sel. = W. Seltzer (1988). *Römische Steindenkmäler. Mainz in Römischer Zeit*
Vor. = E. Vorbeck (1980). *Militärinschriften aus Carnuntum*
N.B.: While CIL remains the authoritative publication of Roman inscriptions, EDH provides easy online access to these inscriptions, whereas Seltzer and Vorbeck respectively offer the convenience of gathering inscriptions from a single site under one cover.

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AE 1998, 282: A Case Study of Public Benefaction and Local Politics

Jinyu Liu

- I. *C(aio) Servilio Quir(ina) Diodoro v(iro) e(gregio),
proc(uratori) CC provinciarum Hispaniar(um)
citerioris et superioris, item
proc(uratori) C Moes(iae) inf(erioris) et regni Norici,
item proc(uratori) LX rat(ionis) privat(ae), praef(ecto) 5
alae I Tungrorum Frontonianae,
trib(uno) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), praef(ecto) coh(ortis) II Aurel(iae)
Novae ((milliariae)) equit(atae), [[- -]]
L(aurenti) L(avinati), domo Girba ex Africa,
coniugi incomparabili Egnatia Salviana 10
eius.*

To Gaius Servilius Diodorus of the tribe of Quirina, of equestrian rank, procurator *ducenarius* of the provinces of Nearer Spain and Upper Spain, procurator *centenarius* of Lower Moesia and the kingdom of Noricum, procurator *sexagenarius* of the Private Account, prefect of the First Unit of Tungrians of Fronto, tribune of the Fourteenth Gemina legion, prefect of the second cohort Aurelia Nova of mixed cavalry and infantry [words erased], *Laurens Lavinas*, originally from Jerba, Africa, an incomparable husband, Egnatia Salviana his (wife dedicated this).

- II. *Dedic(atum) VII Id(us) Sept(embres)
Nummio Albino et Laelio Maximo co(n)s(ulibus).*

Dedicated on September 7 during the consulship of Nummius Albinus and Laelius Maximus (227 CE).

- III a. *[C(aius) Se]rvilius Diodorus Pontio Fusco Ponti[ano]
suo (vac.) salute(m dicit).
Egnatia Salviana mater familias mea pro sua pietate erga me s[tatuam?]
mihi in civitate Laurentium Lavinatium ubi sacerdotalis su[m? po?]=]*

suit. Eius obsequia amplianda crededi, domine, ut collegi[o? den=] 5
drophorum quod est in eadem civitate dem HS XX (milia) n(ummos)
ut ea qu[an=]
titas conlocetur et eius summae usurae quicunces, id est HS [((mille))],
eidem collegio quodannis(!) praestentur, ut die pr(idie) Iduum
Nov[em=]
brum, natalis mei, sportulas accipere et epulari publice eodem lo[co]
cum libertis meis possint. Quam rem credo et ad splendorem ipsiu[s] 10
loci pertinere. Peto igitur, domine, pro tua insigni aequitate suscipi
eam a Magio Iusto et Vibusio Severino praetoribus eiusdem civitatis
iubeas, eaque observari quae his litteris meis comprehendendi, ut benefi=
cio humanitatis tuae quodannis(!) celebrari dies natalis
mei simul cum libertis meis possit. 15
Dat(um) vi Non(as) Octobr(es) Nummio Albino et Laelio Maximo
co[(n)s(ulibus)].

[Gaius Se]rvilius Diodorus to Pontius Fuscus Ponti[anus], greetings.

On account of her devotion to me, Egnatia Salviana, the matron of my household, put up a s[tatue?] for me in the city of Lavinium where I am a priest. I believed that her service should be amplified, your Excellency, so that I give 20,000 sesterces to the association of the tree-carriers (*dendrophori*) in that same city so that this amount of money shall be invested and the yield of this sum at 5% interest rate, that is, 1,000 sesterces, shall be provided to the above-mentioned association annually to enable them to receive presents and to dine at public expense together with my freedmen in the said place on my birthday, November 12. I believe that this gift also suits the magnificence of the place itself. Therefore, your Excellency, in accordance with your remarkable fairness, I ask that you order that the gift be accepted by Magius Iustus and Vibusius Severinus, the praetors of that city, and the conditions that I have included in this letter of mine be observed, so that by your kindness my birthday can be celebrated annually with my freedmen.

Sent on October 2, during the consulship of Nummius Albinus and Laelius Maximus (227 CE).

III b. *Pontius Fuscus Pontianus Magio Iusto et Vibusio Severino*
suis (vac.) salutem (dicit).

Legite in subiectis exemplum litterarum quas ad me fecit Se(r)vilius Diodo=
rus v(ir) e(gregius) sacerdotalis splendidissimae civitatis vestrae,
ut secundum
haec quae litteris suis complexus est voluntatis eius satis fiat. 5

Pontius Fuscus Pontianus to Magius Iustus and Vibusius Severinus, greetings.

Read in what is appended below a copy of the letter that Se(r)vilius Diodorus, of equestrian rank, priest of your most splendid city, wrote to me, so that his wish may be satisfied in accordance with the things that he included in his letter.

III c. *Magius Iustus et Vibusius Severinus Pontio Fusco Pontiano*

suo (vac.) salutem (dicit).

Secundum praeceptum litterarum tuarum, domine, et voluntatem Servili Diodori v(iri) e(gregii) suscepta esse IIII Non(as) Octobr(es) Albino et Maximo co(n)s(ulibus) ab eodem

Diodoro v(iro) e(gregio) HS XX ((milia)) n(ummum), quam summam 5 suscepit Asclepiades rei p(ublicae) L(aurentium) L(avinatium) servus arkarius, ut scires notum amplitudini tuae facimus.

Magius Iustus and Vibusius Severinus to Pontius Fuscus Pontianus, greetings.

In accordance with the instruction of your letter, Excellency, and the will of Servilius Diodorus, of equestrian rank, 20,000 sesterces of cash have been received by the above-mentioned Diodorus, of equestrian rank, on October 4 during the consulship of Albinus and Maximus, which sum Asclepiades, the slave treasurer of the city of Lavinium, accepted. We bring this to the attention of your Eminence so that you know it.

IV. *Q(uinto) Aiacio Modesto II et M(arco) Maecio Probo co(n)s(ulibus), xv Kal(endas) Sept(embres),*

in Caesareum quod est in foro, cum ordo collegi(i) dendropho= rorum L(aurentium) L(avinatium) convenisset, ibi Cornelius Trophimus et Varenius

Legitimus quinquennales verba fecerunt:

ante omnia gratias agendas Servilio Diodoro v(iro) e(gregio), quod dignatus

sit aput(!) rem p(ublicam) L(aurentium) L(avinatium) splendidissimae civitatis n(ostrae) collegio n(ostro) HS XX (milia) n(ummos)

nomine n(ostro) collocare, cuius summae usuram, quod id est ((mille)) HS n(ummos),

a re p(ublica) L(aurentium) L(avinatium) quodannis(!) praestari ut die pr(idie) Id(us) Nov(embres), natalis eius,

quodannis(!) sportulas habeamus secundum ea quae in tabula aenea 10
quam schola in quam convenimus perscriptum(!) posuit, idque ordi=
ni n(ostro) maxime placere tam bono viro benemerenti gratias age=
re, cum sciamus quantam laetitiam in perpetuum ab eo percepe=
rimus, placet itaq(ue) universis patron(um) eum Egnatiam Salvianam
eius matrem cooptemus et petamus ab eo ut tabulam aeneam
patrona= 15
ti suscipere et libens rescribere dignetur, et ut commendatos
habeat singulos universos qui nos et in clientela sua recipere dignatur, et
quo notius sit ista voluptas, hoc decretum nos=
trum in tabula aenea perscriptum(!) ei offeratur per Iul(ium) Sabinum,
Sextium Fidelem sen(iorem), Ulp(ium) Crescentem.

In the consulship of Quintus Aiacius Modestus for the second time and Maecius Probus (228 CE), on August 18, when the members of the association of the tree-carriers (*dendrophori*) of Lavinium had convened in the Caesareum which is in the forum, Cornelius Trophimus and Varenius Legitimus, the presidents (*quinquennales*), made proposals: above all, that thanks be given to Servilius Diodorus, of equestrian rank, because he deemed it worthy to deposit with our most splendid city of Lavinium 20,000 sesterces on behalf of our association, in our name, the interest of which sum, that is, 1,000 sesterces, is to be provided by the city of Lavinium annually so that every year on November 12, his birthday, we will have presents according to the conditions that he had written out on the bronze tablet which he placed in our meeting place; and that it greatly please our members to give thanks to such a worthy good man, since we know how much joy we will receive from him in perpetuity. Therefore, it is universally decided: that we elect him patron and his (wife) Egnatia Salviana mother (of the association); that we ask that he deign to accept a bronze tablet of patronage and reply, if he please, and that he who deems it worthy to receive us into his clientage regard as praised all individuals; and so that (our) pleasure be better known, that this decree of ours, written out in full on a bronze tablet, be presented to him by Iulius Sabinus, Sextius Fidelis the elder, and Ulpianus Crescens.

- v. *Servilius Diodorus colleg(io) dendrophororum:*
Oblatam mihi tabulam aeream nomine vestro per Iul(ium) Sabinum,
Sextium Fidelem sen(iorem), Ulpium Crescentem, collegis (!) vestris (!)
libens
accepi, et gratos vos muneris quod vobis obtuli et observaturos

*ea quae desideravi (?) intellexi, maxime cum ea res exemplo sit ceteris
consacerdotalib(us) meis optantib(us) a vobis honorem patronatus.*¹ 5

Servilius Diodorus to the association of the tree-carriers
(*dendrophori*):

I accept with pleasure the bronze tablet presented to me on your behalf by Iulius Sabinus, Sextius Fidelis the elder, and Ulpius Crescens, your colleagues. I have understood that you are grateful for the gift that I offered you, and that you will observe the provisions that I desired, especially since this gift would serve as an example for those of my priestly colleagues who desire the honor of the title of patron from you.

Studies of euergetism have tended to see public benefaction as a one-way phenomenon and thus naturally have focused on the intention, status, and deeds of the donors. Paul Veyne famously stated that ancient Greek and Roman benefactors gave because they could. More recent studies, however, based primarily on epigraphic evidence from the East, have emphasized the background negotiations behind the setting up of the gifts, the monitoring that donors received from their peers, and the unease the imperial government and provincial cities sometimes felt toward public munificence.² A close examination of *AE* 1998, 282 will contribute to this scholarship by shedding light on the conflicts, negotiations, and compromises in the euergetic politics of a western city in the early third century.

Inscribed on three sides of a statue base, *AE* 1998, 282 preserves a series of correspondence in 227–228 CE pertaining to the establishment of a perpetual endowment of HS 20,000, of which the primary beneficiary would be the *collegium dendrophorum* of Lavinium.³ The donor was a Gaius Servilius Diodorus, an otherwise unknown *eques* of African origin (I.9: *domo Girba ex Africa*, now Jerba, Tunisia; *PIR*² S 581) and a member of the priestly college of the *Laurentes Lavinates*, who were normally recruited from the equestrian order who did not themselves originate from Lavinium.⁴

1 For the *editio princeps* of the inscription, see Nonnis 1995/6: 248–62, with images, transcription, and a rich but primarily prosopographical commentary. The numbering of the texts follows Nonnis 1995/6: 248–50.

2 Rogers 1991: 91–100; Eck 1997: 328–31; Zuiderhoek 2007: 196–213.

3 For the *collegia dendrophorum* in the Roman Empire, see Liu 2009: 52–53 with further bibliography.

4 For recent studies of the *Laurentes Lavinates*, see Saulnier 1984: 525–31; Cooley 2000: 179.

The sequence of events was set off by Diodorus' wife, Egnatia Salviana, who put up a statue (I.10; III a.3) for her husband on September 7, 227 (II), perhaps on the occasion of his appointment as a *Laurens Lavinias*.⁵ On October 2, Diodorus wrote to senator Pontius Fuscus Ponti[anus] to ask him to order (*iubeas*) the praetors of Lavinium to take up the fund and to provide the *dendrophori* with the income of the said endowment for them to celebrate Diodorus' birthday and to have a banquet along with his freedmen annually (III a.11–16). Pontianus then wrote to the praetors of the city of Lavinium concerning Diodorus' intention to establish the endowment and urged them to make it happen (*ut . . . satis fiat*) (III b). Two days later, on October 4, the praetors of Lavinium notified Pontianus that the city had accepted the endowment through the servile treasurer (*arkarius*) Asclepiades (III c). The *dendrophori* subsequently elected Diodorus as patron and his wife as mother of the *collegium*. The content of the patronage tablet, dated to August 18, 228, was inscribed in full in our inscription (IV). So too was Diodorus' letter responding to his being elected patron by the *dendrophori* (v), the last sentence of which seems to suggest that the gift was meant to inspire his fellow *Laurentes Lavinates* to emulate his euergetic deed (v. 5–6).

Diodorus' gift itself was by no means unusual.⁶ What is remarkable about this dossier is that it provides a rare glimpse into the (re)actions of the various interested parties (the donor, the city, a senator, the designated recipients, and the donor's peers) in the establishment of the gift, which makes it particularly valuable for a better understanding of the politics of munificence in the Roman cities. This paper attempts to suggest some ways of interpreting this dossier, based on a close examination of the language of the correspondence and the chronological sequence of events. The difficulties must be acknowledged from the outset. As David Nonnis noted in his *editio princeps* of the inscription, the text provides the first attestations of several things – a *Laurens Lavinias* making a donation to and putting up an inscription in the city of Lavinium, for example, or the existence of a local *collegium dendrophorum*, which was closely connected with the cult of Magna Mater in many cities of the west during the Empire. As valuable as this new information is, it also makes it difficult for us to ascertain the circumstances surrounding the benefaction.

5 Contra Alföldy 2000, who suggests that the occasion might have been Diodorus' transfer from his procuratorship of Hispania Citerior to that in Hispania Superior. But Diodorus' priestly status apparently received more emphasis in the correspondence (cf. Nonnis 2005/6: 261).

6 For endowments, especially those for *collegia*, see Liu 2008: 231–56.

An immediately relevant question is “What role did the senator Pontianus play?” It is reasonable to suggest, as Nonnis does, that Pontianus the senator was acting in his capacity as *curator rei publicae*, although the inscription does not specify his title(s).⁷ An intriguing position, the *curatores rei publicae* were not permanent appointments, but their duties pertained fundamentally to the financial administration of civic communities including the general supervision of public funds and buildings.⁸ It must be noted, however, that the overwhelming majority of the endowments of the imperial period that survive do not mention any involvement of *curatores rei publicae* at all; nor is there any unequivocal indication in the literary, epigraphic, or legal sources that benefactions, especially those that did not involve public property, normally needed the authorization of *curatores rei publicae*.

In addition, legal sources seem to suggest that their tasks usually entailed the enforcement of promises (of money or public works) made to the cities, and protection of endowments from misuse rather than the establishment of foundations.⁹ Therefore, even if Pontianus were indeed a *curator rei publicae*, it does not automatically explain why he was involved. It should be noted that a relatively large number of *curatores rei publicae*, eleven altogether, have been attested in Lavinium from the mid-second century to fourth century CE. But what this means is not automatically clear. It may point to persistent or recurring financial mismanagement in the city.¹⁰ If that were true, it may help explain why the curator’s approval was important. But if the city’s finance were indeed a mess, it would be puzzling why Diodorus wanted to entrust the fund to the city in the first place.

The *Laurentes Lavinates* were not required to be stationed at Lavinium. Diodorus, however, apparently had estate or business operation(s) in the area of Lavinium, since he stipulated the participation of his freedmen in the annual ceremony funded by his endowment. It is not clear, however, whether Diodorus’ wife, Egnatia Salviana, came from the same place as he did or not, as the *nomen gentilicium* Egnatia/Egnatius is widely attested in the Roman Empire. One may argue that since Diodorus, and perhaps his wife, did not originate from Lavinium, they may have had little knowledge of the city’s financial crisis. Several scholars, however, have warned us that appointment

7 Nonnis 1995/6: 259–60.

8 *Dig.* 22.1.33.pr.1; 50.12.1.pr.6; 50.10.5.1; 50.8.11.2; 50.8.12.2. Jacques 1984: 301–17; Burton 1979: 475; 2004: 337.

9 Millar 1986: 316; Burton 2004: 337.

10 For the presence of *curatores rei publicae* as a sign of financial difficulties in the city, see, e.g., Duthoy 1979: 238.

of a *curator rei publicae* cannot be invariably taken as a secure indicator of the financial or political weakness in the city.¹¹ In Lavinium's case, the *curatores rei publicae* whose status is known were all senators of high rank with praetorian or consular status. Some of them even played the dual roles – potentially contradictory roles – of patron and *curator rei publicae*.¹² The consistently high status of these curators seems “to be a reflection of imperial favour, and recognition of Lavinium's privileged position with regard to Rome”.¹³

If we cannot see these *curatores rei publicae* as simply dispatched to intervene in local crises, further questions arise: was Diodorus forced to seek support of the senator because he was turned down by the city initially? Or did Diodorus choose to convey his wish to give a donation through the senator in order to give the gift more prestige by taking a top-down approach? We may never know the answer. But circumstantial and internal evidence seems to suggest that Diodorus may have experienced some difficulty or what he perceived as a delay in setting up the foundation, and that at a certain point he turned to Pontianus, whom he may have known previously, to help to expedite the establishment of the foundation. In what follows, I will elaborate on these points.

We must first note the absence of any praise or expression of gratitude from the city. The dossier contained mutual compliments between Diodorus and his wife (I.10; III a.3–5), an economical but firm letter of support from Pontianus (III b.3–5), and a highly formulaic and flattering decree from the *dendrophori* (IV). But no direct correspondence between the city and Diodorus was documented. The letter from the city that was included in the dossier was addressed to the senator instead of Diodorus, and was brief, plain, and businesslike (III c). This lack of interest on the part of the city was further confirmed by the fact that it was the donor, Diodorus himself, instead of the city, that sent a letter to the senator. It was only after the praetors received the letter of the senator (*secundum praeceptum litterarum tuarum*, III c.3) that the city accepted the money. In contrast, in the only other example that also involved a western city, a benefactor, and a *curator rei publicae*, it was the city that sent a letter concerning the benefaction to the curator.¹⁴ In 113 CE, Ulpian Vesbinus, an imperial freedman, sought permission from the city of Caere to build a *phretrium* for the local *Augustales* at his own expense in a spot close to the basilica. Before sending a letter to the curator on August 15, the local decurions had already agreed to grant Vesbinus the plot at a formal meeting on April 13.

11 D'Arms 1974: 106; Boatwright 2000: 76; Burton 2004.

12 ILS 6185; AE 1998. 280.

13 Cooley 2000: 189. Cf. Duthoy 1979: 232–34; Camodeca 1980: 494–95; Jacques 1984: 196–97.

14 CIL 10.3614 = CIL 10.4347 = ILS 5918a.

Sending the letter to the curator was more a show of respect than a necessary procedural requirement. On September 12, the curator responded approvingly and praised the city's decision with highly rhetorical language. By contrast, in Diodorus' dossier the city remains much more tacit and passive.

This is not to say, however, that the obligation to administer the endowment was simply imposed on the city out of the blue. Diodorus specifically requested Pontianus to write to the two praetors of Lavinium (III a.13). There were only two days between Diodorus' letter to Pontianus and the praetors' response to him notifying him of the acceptance of the endowment (III c.4–7). Are we to believe that the praetors could complete the transaction on such short notice without consulting the decurions? It is more reasonable to suppose that Diodorus had already approached the city, that the matter had been discussed at a meeting of the decurions, and that the city had not made a definitive decision or taken any action in regard to the endowment. Was the city simply taking its time? After all, it had not yet been one month since the erection of Diodorus' statue (II). Or was the city delaying because it had problems with the endowment? It may be relevant that very few endowments are known to have been entrusted to a third party, and very few entrusted to a city left out the decurions as beneficiaries. I know of only one other comparable inscription, which records various gifts, including a cash foundation of ten thousand sesterces and a vineyard dedicated exclusively to the *Augustales*, donated by a Manius Megonius Leo who had already made several donations to the city.¹⁵ It would not be difficult to understand why he made the city the overseer of all of his endowments.

Returning to Diodorus' case, the city may not have welcomed being entrusted with the administration of a fund to which they were not a direct beneficiary, but this alone should not constitute a strong reason for it to turn down the offer. There were some general principles a city followed, or at least normally followed, in accepting gifts, among which the most important were, first, that the city not be burdened by the gift, and second, that the gift enhance the status of the city.¹⁶ The terms of Diodorus' endowment did not seem to contradict either of these two conditions. In fact, the terms seem rather favorable to the city. Twenty thousand sesterces was a large amount, even at

15 *ILS* 6469 = *CIL* 10.114, from Petelia, in *Regio* III, and datable to the reign of Antoninus Pius. For Manius Megonius Leo's benefactions, see Bossu 1982: 155–65.

16 These were articulated in a number of inscriptions (e.g., *CIL* 10.3614 = *CIL* 10.4347 = *ILS* 5918a) and legal sources. For discussion of legal regulations, see Johnston 1985: 105–25 and Zuiderhoek 2007: 197–200.

this date. In fact, 56% of all known perpetual endowments from the first three centuries CE were less than twenty thousand sesterces.

What is more, the interest rate, 5%, is set at the low end of the spectrum.¹⁷ Duncan-Jones once suggested that the interest rate was in inverse correlation to the size of the endowment, but there are too many exceptions to this “rule” for it to account for the low interest rate of Diodorus’ gift.¹⁸ For the same amount of twenty thousand sesterces, for example, the interest rates could be as high as 12%.¹⁹ The low interest rate may well have been the result of negotiations between Diodorus and the city. Presumably, the city could make a profit by lending out the money at a higher interest rate than 5%, since it was obliged to provide the *dendrophori* with proceeds on the endowment only at a rate of 5%, but we lack data from Lavinium to substantiate this point. If the terms of the endowment were not unfavorable to the city, were there other factors, such as Diodorus’ non-native origin or the possible tension between the *Laurentes Lavinates* and the city, that may have made the city uneasy? I will return to this question below.

Since Diodorus’ birthday was November 12, he was probably eager to have the foundation established before that date, so that the celebrations could be carried out in the following year. An impatient Diodorus and a hesitant city could have combined to persuade him to find a way out in Pontianus, who may have been in town at that time. This would not be surprising, since senatorial curators were often appointed to cities in whose territory they owned land.²⁰ That Pontianus wrote to Lavinium’s praetors immediately after receiving Diodorus’ letter shows that he took a particular interest in helping him. It is quite possible that they had known each other, since at one point of their careers, both had served in Moesia Inferior. Pontianus was governor of the province from June/August to November/December 217.²¹ Diodorus once served there as *proc(urator) ((centenarius)) Moes(iae) inf(erioris)*, the second of the five procurator positions he had held up until 227. Although the chronology is not entirely clear, the possibility of an overlap between Diodorus and Pontianus in Moesia Inferior cannot be excluded. The letter from Pontianus can hardly be seen as superfluous: it made a difference in expediting the setting up of the foundation, to say the least.

17 For interest rates of endowments and further bibliography, see Liu 2008: 246–47.

18 Duncan-Jones 1982: 134.

19 E.g., *CIL* 6.9254; 5.1978.

20 Eck 1979: 200–202.

21 For Pontianus’s career, see Boteva 1996: 248–52.

Why did Diodorus choose to set up an endowment for the *dendrophori*? In response to his cooptation of patron by the *dendrophori*, which he accepted with pleasure, he wrote:

I have understood that you are grateful for the gift that I offered you, and that you will observe the provisions that I desired, especially since this gift would serve as an example for those of my priestly colleagues who desire the honor of the title of patron from you. (v. 4–6)

This final sentence in Diodorus's letter to the *dendrophori* is intriguing. Here the *dendrophori* are emphasized as an honor-generating body. More importantly, the wording seems to suggest that there was a special relationship between the *Laurentes Lavinates* and the *dendrophori* of Lavinium. Although the *dendrophori* in the Roman cities were frequently the recipients of gifts, no special relationship between *Laurentes Lavinates* and the *collegia dendrophorum* is known.²² What we do know about the spheres of activities of the *collegia dendrophorum* in the Empire is that they were not only directly connected with the cult of Magna Mater but were quite often also closely associated with imperial cult.²³

The participation of the *dendrophori* in emperor worship appears to be more prominent than that of other types of Roman *collegia*, as suggested by their involvement in various religious rites such as ram-sacrifice (*criobolium*) and bull-sacrifice (*taurobolium*) for the well-being of the emperor (*pro salute imperatoris*), and by such titles as *dendrophori Augustales*.²⁴ The roles of the *dendrophori* in the imperial cult may account for the special relationship between the equestrian priestly group the *Laurentes Lavinates* and the *collegium dendrophorum* at Lavinium, especially since “the relationship between Lavinium and Rome was focused in part upon the person of the emperor himself.”²⁵ The meeting place of the *dendrophori* at Lavinium, for example, was specified as the imperial cult building in the forum, *Caesareum quod est in foro* (iv. 3). This is very likely the site where a number of imperial portrait busts

22 AE 1895, 120 may concern a priest of *M(ater) d(eum) M(agna) I(daea)*, who was also a *Laurens Lavinias*. But the fragmentary nature of the inscription precludes any certainty in the reconstruction of the text. For *dendrophori* as recipients of gifts, see, e.g., CIL 10.451; AE 1979, 140; 1987, 198.

23 Liu 2009: 52–54.

24 *Criobolium* and *taurobolium*: CIL 8.23401 = ILS 4142 (Mactar, Africa; 284–293 CE); CIL 8.23400. *Dendrophori Augustales*: e.g., CIL 13.1937, 1961, 2026, 5154.

25 Cooley 2000: 180.

have been found. It may also be relevant that the *collegia dendrophorum* were particularly popular in North Africa, where Diodorus originated.²⁶

In the letter to the *dendrophori*, Diodorus also positioned himself as an inspiration (*exemplum*) for his priestly colleagues (v. 5). Was this pure rhetoric? Or did it imply that other *Laurentes Lavinates* had tried to earn the title of patrons of the *dendrophori* but had failed? Although the dossier under discussion provides the first attestation of an inscription put up by an individual *Laurens Lavinus* at Lavinium, Diodorus was not necessarily the first one who did it or who made a donation to the city. However, the scarcity of inscriptions put up by the *Laurentes Lavinates* either as a group or as individuals at Lavinium may point to the lack of connection, or even tension, between this artificially created priestly group and the town itself. If this were true, it could further explain why the city was not particularly enthusiastic about accepting the gift from Diodorus.

Why, then, did Diodorus entrust the fund to the city instead of directly to the *dendrophori*? David Nonnis suggests that Diodorus may have wanted to use the city as a better guarantee for the effective uses of the fund.²⁷ As mentioned earlier in the paper, however, entrusting an endowment to a third party was not a common practice. In addition, unlike many of the inscriptions recording endowments, there was no emphasis on penalty of misuse in Diodorus's dossier.²⁸ Diodorus's anxiety for the moment seemed entirely focused on successfully setting up the foundation rather than ensuring its long-term viability. It seems more reasonable to find the explanation for Diodorus's entrusting the fund to the city in his obsession with self-advertisement and self-glorification. In other words, he intended to give the gift a more "public" or official appearance. This inclination can be seen also in his publication of the patronage tablet on the stone. Patronage tablets (*tabulae patronatus*) were normally inscribed metal plates intended to be displayed at the patron's house.²⁹ He would have had the actual plate hung on the wall of his house, but he also publicized it in a publicly accessible place. The inscription was found along with other honorific inscriptions in a colonnaded building located near one of the main entrances of the city.³⁰ When the *dendrophori* offered the patronage tablet to Diodorus, they had not yet celebrated the first anniversary meal, which was to be held less than three months later. Inscribing the correspondence between

26 For the geographical distribution of the *collegia dendrophorum*, see Liu 2009: 32.

27 Nonnis 1995/6: 259.

28 For examples of penalty clauses, see Liu 2008: 253.

29 See Liu 2009: 235–38 and Nicols, above, chapter 11, both with further bibliography.

30 Nonnis 1995/6: 235–36; Fenelli 1998: 110, 115.

Diodorus and the *dendrophori*, along with the other correspondence, may also have served as a reminder to the city that the interest needed to be paid out to the *dendrophori*.

Centering entirely on Servilius Diodorus, the dossier paraded his dutiful wife, his priestly status as *Laurens Lavinus*, his own generosity, a senatorial friend, the gratitude of the *dendrophori*, his newly earned title of their patron, and a new endowment enabling the celebration of his birthdays by the *dendrophori* and his freedmen. The publication in stone of the entire business correspondence is indicative of both Diodorus' obsession with self-advertisement and self-glorification and his anxiety. On the surface, the dossier tells a positive story of generosity. Reading between the lines, however, the dossier also betrays tensions, negotiations, frustrations, and embarrassments. None of the honors that Diodorus received originated from the city. Although the inscription was found along with other honorific inscriptions in a public place, it was not one of the typical honorific inscriptions in which the city took an active role in granting the honor.³¹ The statue was put up by Diodorus's wife. His gift may not have met with enthusiasm by the decurions, and he had to pull strings to speed up establishing the endowment. Being a new *Laurens Lavinus*, he may not have had knowledge of the history between the *Laurentes Lavinates* and the city. Yet, he was eager to claim his insider status, emphasizing repeatedly his status as "priest" at Lavinium.³²

Diodorus' dossier seems to betray an outsider trying, with some frustrations, to enter the local network. It provides further testimony to euergetism as a site that showcased tensions, negotiations, compromises, and surprising twists and turns of events. This dossier, then, brings to light the many shades of public benefaction in the Roman cities. It serves as a reminder that most of the honorific inscriptions only recorded the end results of what may have been long processes, and tended to give a misleadingly rosy picture of private and public munificence.

31 The other honorific inscription with a complete text found together with *AE* 1998, 282 concerns a senator of consular rank, who had also served, among others, as patron and curator of Lavinium. The inscription, apparently put up by the city, records only his *cur-sus honorum*, without any reference to his deeds or benefactions: see *AE* 1998, 280.

32 See, e.g. III a.4, *in civitate Laurentium Lavinatium ubi sacerdotalis sum*; III b.4, *sacerdotalis splendidissimae civitatis vestrae*; v.5–6, *ceteris consacerdotalib(us) meis*.

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Vergil and Ovid at the Tomb of Agnes: Constantina, Epigraphy, and the Genesis of Christian Poetry

Dennis E. Trout

It was almost surely in the 340s that the empress Constantina founded the first Roman basilica dedicated to the martyr Agnes and installed therein a precocious fourteen-hexameter inscription. At the time Constantina, eldest daughter of Constantine I and Fausta, was probably in her 30s. In 335 her father had married her to one of his nephews, Hannibalianus, whom the aging emperor had established as King of Pontus and Cappadocia, but Hannibalianus had perished in the purge that followed Constantine's death in 337. More than a decade later, in 351, Constantina's brother and then sole Augustus, Constantius II, would send her to Antioch as the wife of their cousin, the Caesar Gallus – and it was there in the East, in Bithynia, that Constantina died in 354.¹ Biography and, as we will see, archaeology and epigraphy, too, conspire to promote the 340s, the decade of Constantina's inter-marital widowhood, as the years that saw both her patronage of Agnes's suburban funerary hall and her installation there of the ambitious dedicatory epigram that, there are good reasons to believe, she herself composed for the occasion.

Visitors to Agnes's Via Nomentana site today, of course, spend most of their time not in Constantina's basilica but in her mausoleum, now the stunning Santa Costanza, which stands adjacent to her basilica proper and which received the empress's body when it was returned to Rome from Bithynia in 354. Or they wander through the basilica *ad corpus* that in the early seventh century Pope Honorius I (625–638) built directly over Agnes's subterranean tomb some one-hundred meters to the east of Constantina's basilica and from which they can access Sant'Agnese's catacombs. They tend to walk past the ruins of Constantina's basilica, rediscovered in the nineteenth century and now no more than a grassy expanse partially defined by the remains of the

1 *PLRE* 1, 222, “Constantina 2”; Kienast 1990: 313–14. She may have been born ca. 320, was the eldest daughter of Constantine I and Fausta (*PLRE* 1, 325–26), and was married to Constantine's nephew Hannibalianus (*PLRE* 1, 407, “Hannibalianus 2”) from 335 to 337. Her subsequent marriage to the Caesar Gallus (*PLRE* 1, 224–25, “Constantius 4”) occurred in 351. Ammianus (14.1.6) records her death in Bithynia in 354 and (21.1.5) burial on the Via Nomentana.

ambulatory structure's southwestern nave and northwestern apse. In its day, however, as archaeologists and historians have come to recognize, Constantina's construction was a strikingly innovative project, one of a group of at least six circus-form basilicas erected in the Roman suburbs in the middle decades of the fourth century that together illuminate the incipient stages of an architectural and topographical revolution that would transform the Roman cityscape in the next century.² Constantina's inscribed verses, however, remain in the shadows, as unappreciated as the initial stirrings of a parallel *coup* through which later and better known Christian poets such as Prudentius and Paulinus of Nola would lay solid claim to the city's literary heritage. Restoring Constantina to the list of notable early Latin Christian poets, therefore, is both a step towards rethinking our narratives of the period's literary history and a way of honoring the novel roles played by metrical inscriptions in the invention of Christian Rome.

Constantina deum venerans: Text, Date, and Authorship

The text and date of Constantina's epigram are sufficiently firm. Though her verses now survive only in select manuscripts of Prudentius's *Peristephanon*, appended to that later fourth-century poet's own poem on the virgin martyr Agnes (*Per.* 14), they were once displayed, carved on a marble tablet, in Constantina's fourth-century basilica.³

*C constantina deum venerans Christoque dicata,
O mnibus impensis devota mente paratis,
Numine divino multum Christoque iuvante,
Sacravi templum victricis virginis Agnes,*

2 On Constantina's project and its context see, e.g., Frutaz 1960: 28–32; Barbini 2001; Brandenburg 2004 and 2005: 69–86. On Rome's six Constantinian age ambulatory basilicas see, e.g., Krautheimer 1960; the papers collected at Guidobaldi and Guidobaldi 2002: 1097–1262; MacMullen 2009: 80–84; Logan 2011. Constantina's Sant'Agnese alone has preserved its dedicatory inscription.

3 I reproduce here the text of Ihm 1895: no. 84, who followed de Rossi 1888: p. 44. De Rossi's text was also reproduced by Buecheler at *CLE* 301 and by Diehl at *ILCV* 1768. The text of Ferrua 1942: no. 71 (with ample commentary) and Ferrua *ICUR* 8.20752 differs only in that editor's preference for *sacravit* (attested by some manuscripts) over *sacravi* in line four. Early treatments of the text can be found at Armellini 1880: 369–71; Jubaru, 1907: 246–54. For more recent considerations see Carletti-Colafrancesco 1976: no. 7 and 255–56; Carletti 2000: 443–44; Carletti 2008: no. 154 (with several misprints); and De Santis 2010: no. 96.

Templorum quod vincit opus terrenaque cuncta, 5
A urea quae rutilant summi fastigia tecti.
Nomen enim Christi celebratur sedibus istis,
Tartaream solus potuit qui vincere mortem
I nectus caelo solusque inferre triumphum
Nomen Adae referens et corpus et omnia membra 10
A mortis tenebris et caeca nocte levata.
Dignum igitur munus martyr devotaque Christo,
Ex opibus nostris per saecula longa tenebis,
O felix virgo, memorandi nominis Agnes. 14

I, Constantina, venerating God and consecrated to Christ,
 having devoutly provided for all expenses,
 with considerable divine inspiration and Christ assisting,
 have dedicated the temple of the victorious virgin Agnes,
 which surpasses the workmanship of temples and all
 earthly (buildings) 5
 that the golden gables of lofty roofs illumine with reddish glow
 For the name of Christ is celebrated in this hall,
 who alone was able to vanquish infernal death
 and, borne to heaven, alone carry in the triumph,
 restoring the name of Adam and the body and all the limbs 10
 released from the shadows of death and dark night.
 Therefore, martyr and devotee of Christ, you will possess this worthy gift
 From our resources through the long ages,
 O happy maid, of the noteworthy name Agnes.

In the sixteenth century Caesar Baronius saw a fragment of the poem's marble plaque, presumably original, embedded in the paving of a recently refurbished atrium at the Via Nomentana complex.⁴ The panel's initial location in Constantina's basilica, before its reuse as flooring tiles, however, remains uncertain; the manuscripts, which must reflect some earlier stage of autopsy, variously (and ambiguously) place it "in absida basilicae" or "super arcum qui basilicam continet."⁵ Nevertheless, there is no reason to think that the verses

4 Baronius 1880: vol. 4, 85–86 (*an.* 324, no. 108). The atrium had been restored by then Cardinal Alessandro Ottaviano de' Medici (Pope Leo XI): "modo marmoreae tabulae vix fragmentum superest, stratum in ingressu atri recens restituti a S.R.E. cardinali Medicaeo archiepiscopo Florentino." See also Ferrua 1942: 247–48.

5 Ferrua 1942: 246–47.

were not elegantly inscribed and prominently displayed, perhaps fastened to the apse wall or the nave's interior façade.⁶

Constantina's authorship can be inferred from a combination of salient details, several of which will be taken up later. The poem's acrostic – *Constantina Deo* – almost surely asserts the empress's hand: literary acrostics had long served as a way for authors to “sign their works.”⁷ Equally assertive is the initial word of line four, *sacravi*, if it should be preferred to the third person form (*sacravit*) found in some manuscripts. No less crucially, the brickwork of the basilica has been dated to the 340s, the very years of Constantina's momentary widowhood between her marriages to Hannibalianus and Gallus.⁸ Was Constantina resident in or near Rome in those years? It seems so. An honorific inscription dedicated to Constantina by the *praepositus rerum privatarum* Flavius Gavianus, uncovered near the Lateran and published only twenty years ago, suggests her presence in the city for some period of time between 340 and 350.⁹ Further support derives from the fact that soon after her death

6 The most likely locations; see Krauthemier 1989: 9.

7 For acrostic signatures in Vergil, an author whose influence upon fourth-century poets is immeasurable, see Zarker 1966: 129–30 and Somerville 2010; and on literary signature acrostics in general see Courtney 1990, quote 4.

8 Cecchelli 2001: 207–09.

9 *CIL* 6.40790, though Geza Alföldy, *qui non vidit*, expressed caution (= *AE* 1989, 76). The inscribed statue base was discovered, though not in its original setting, in the *campo laterano* in a Christian “*capella*” (north of the so-called *domus Faustae*) that Valnea Santa Maria Scrinari has argued was part of a fourth- and fifth-century complex connected to the administrative offices of the imperial *res privata*. See Scrinari 1989: 2210–17; with Liverani 1996. The statue was dedicated to *d(omi)nae Constantinae nob(ilissimae) ac venerabili* by the (otherwise unattested) *p(rae)p(ositus) rer(um) privatar(um)* Flavius Gavianus *v(ir) p(erfectissimus)* and is securely dateable between 340 and 350. Two similar dedications suggest Constantina was present in the city at the time: (1) the *praepositus rerum privatarum* Fl. Pist(r)ius (*PLRE* 1, 704) dedicated a monument, also discovered in the Lateran zone, to “Helena Augusta” sometime between November 324, the earliest likely date of Helena's promotion to Augusta, and ca. 328/29, when she died; see *CIL* 6.1135 and 4327. Helena (*PLRE* 1, 410–11, “Helena 3”) was primarily resident in Rome, at the Sessorian palace, from ca. 312 until she departed for her Holy Land pilgrimage in late 326/27. Only after her death at the imperial court (perhaps at Trier) ca. late 328/29 would her remains be returned to Rome for burial on the Via Labicana. See Drijvers 1992: 31–34, 46–47 (on *CIL* 6.1135), 56–76; and Barnes 2011: 42–45. Thus Pistrius' dedication most likely occurred during Helena's period of Roman residency. (2) The same archaeological context that yielded Gavianus' dedication to Constantina also produced a dedication (*CIL* 6.40806 = *AE* 1989, 77) by Flavius Florenus *vir clarissimus* to “Eudoxia Augusta” (*PLRE* 2, 410–12, “Eudoxia 2”), the wife of Valentinian III. The dedication must date between 6 August 439, when Eudoxia became Augusta, and 16 March

in 354, her body was transported to Rome and buried in the grand mausoleum (S. Costanza) that had by then been erected adjacent to the Via Nomentana basilica that she had recently founded.¹⁰ All of this creates a highly plausible context not only for Constantina's patronage of the fourth-century Sant'Agnese but also for her composition of the basilica's dedicatory epigram.

The poem itself, like the architecture of the ambulatory basilica it adorned, subtly blends tradition and innovation. Artfully composed, its fourteen lines easily meet the standards of classical prosody and metrics, while also indulging an emerging penchant for acrostics, announcing donor and honoree through the first letter of each line *Constantina Deo*.¹¹ The poem's final three verses recall its first four in ring structure. Opening and closing highlight the entwined themes of Constantina's benefaction and Agnes's virginity. The empress's financial outlay is highlighted by line two's *impensae* then reprised in line thirteen's *opes nostrae*. Agnes is styled *victrix virgo* in line four and then *felix virgo* in line fourteen. Together these seven lines also blur the boundaries of identity between the empress and the martyr, whose two names are the first and final words of the poem. Initially, in lines one and two, it is Constantina who is *Christoque dicata* and *devota mente* (1–2);¹² but the echoing *devotaque Christo* of line twelve applies rather to Agnes. Indeed, the fact that the two phrases – *Christoque dicata* and *devotaque Christo* – occupy the same metrical position but entertain lexical variation and inverted word order draws attention to them. The effect of this word play is not only to assimilate empress and

455, when Valentinian III was killed. Between 439 and 450 Valentinian's court was frequently in Rome, permanently after February 450; see Seeck 1919: 366–400, Gillett 2001: 142–48, and Humphries 2012: 162. Thus *CIL* 6.40790, Gavianus' dedication to Constantina, provides persuasive but not absolute evidence that Constantina was resident in Rome during the 340s, the time of the dedication, when Italy was the domain of her brother Constans (337–350).

10 Brandenburg 2004: 141 on construction in a second phase but before 354.

11 Carletti Colafrancesco 1976: 255–56 on metrics; Sanders 1991 on the assertiveness of acrostics. For a less generous view of the poem as “un disorganico *pastiche* di topoi celebrativi” see Carletti 2000: 444; and for a different context see Trout 2014. Line three's *numen divinum* must represent an alternative expression for the *deus* found in line one and in the acrostic and distinguish in some manner “god” from *Christus*; Constantina's near contemporary Juvenecus uses *numen* only in the first half of book one, where, as Green 2006: 95, observes it seems to denote God as distinct from Christ. On the concept of divine aid in benefactions see Duval and Pietri 1997: 377, with *adiuvante deo* already in early fourth-century Aquileia stressing God's help in a Christian context.

12 Carletti 2008: 250, suggesting that line one means “convertita e battezzata.”

saint but also to align Constantina's act of munificence with Agnes's martyrdom as expressions of Christian piety appropriate to their respective ages.

These seven lines frame seven central lines (5–11) that provocatively expand the idea of victory introduced by the description of Agnes in line four as *victicis*, a word weighted by the preceding caesura but notably given no narrative context. Indeed, the imagery of conquest evoked by this section's *vincit*, *vincere*, and *inferre triumphum* pushes well beyond the martyr's elided tale to present Constantina's basilica as a victory monument that resonates both within and against traditions of triumphal building at Rome. The unmatched grandeur of her *templum virginis Agnes*, expressed in lines 5 and 6, establishes Constantina herself in the role of beneficent *triumphator* played by so many before her.¹³ Yet the real victory celebrated in this *sedes*, the victory to whose implications a third of the poem is devoted (7–11), is that of Christ over hellish (*tartaream*) death, a Christ whose name stands at the virtual center of the poem (7), who alone (*solus*), borne to heaven, "brought home the triumph" that no one else could, redeeming mankind from death's dark night. The epigram's foregrounded themes of victory, aristocratic competition, and personal salvation fit especially well a building that is, in fact, one of Rome's largest known ambulatory basilicas and that served, like all of these structures, as a vast covered cemetery and funerary banquet hall.¹⁴

13 The choice of *templum* is noteworthy, influenced perhaps by the poem's classicizing thrust and a desire to sharpen the contrast with the non-Christian *templorum opus* of the next line. *Templum* appears as a term descriptive of the structure in which it appears in thirteen Christian verse dedications in Rome; Constantina's is the only one of the thirteen earlier than the fifth century, though Ambrose used similar language in an inscription that commemorated his translation of the relics of S. Nazarius to Milan's Basilica Apostolorum in the mid-390s (*ILCV* 1800 = Carletti 2008: no. 186: *condidit Ambrosius templum dominoque sacrauit*). For discussion see De Santis 2010: 125–30. Two wall inscriptions from St. Peter's on the Vatican (*ICUR* 2.4092 and 4094), both roughly contemporary with *Constantina deum venerans*, employ *aula* to denote the structure in question. *Sedes*, which appears in the plural in line seven, is also used in one of the Vatican texts (*ICUR* 2.4094: *Iustitiae sedes, fidei domus, aula pudoris*); see further De Santis 2010: 103–4.

14 Constantina's basilica measured 98 × 40 meters excluding its large atrium; see Barbini 2001: 34. The Constantinian S. Lorenzo on the Via Tiburtina, Sant'Agnese's sole rival in size, measured approximately 99 × 35 meters; see Serra 2005: 205. On funerary cult, the *refrigerium*, and ambulatory basilicas see, e.g., MacMullen 2009: 76–89, with Barbini and Severini 2002 on the graves of Sant'Agnese.

Reading *Constantina deum vernerans*: Text and Inter-Texts

The ambition of Constantina's poem is evident in the complex textures, structural conceits, and lexical gestures that ripple across its surface. Its pretensions, however, would have been no less obvious to readers alert to the epigram's deeper engagements with earlier texts and previous poets. Indeed echoes of classical authors are sufficiently prominent in Constantina's text that she could be glossed in one eighth- or ninth-century manuscript as "Constantina . . . prudentissima et vehementer litteris mundialibus erudita."¹⁵ Subsequently, in 1895, Maximilian Ihm cataloged many of the epigram's classical parallels, and a more recent reader, Pasqua Carletti Colafrancesco, has remarked upon the "tecnica quasi centonaria" that informs the poem's composition.¹⁶ Some of Constantina's borrowings may seem relatively inert, for example, the reminiscence of Vergil's *summi fastigia tecti* in line six or of Ovid's *per saecula longa* in line thirteen.¹⁷ Others, however, are arguably more properly inter-textual – allusions, that is, that are thematically "appropriate" and encourage a knowing reader to construct meaning by recalling and resituating a hypo-text whose words are now set into a new poetic and ideological frame.¹⁸ It is Constantina's nimble deployment of this strategy, which would reach its apogee in the poets of the later fourth and early fifth centuries, that earns her the right to be considered present at the "genesis of Christian poetry."¹⁹ Two moments can serve as exemplary; both suggest the poet's dexterity with the Latin literary tradition.

Agnes and Polyxena

Ihm noted that line 14, "O felix virgo, memorandi nominis Agnes," echoed *Aeneid* 3.321, "O felix una ante alias Priameia virgo," wherein Vergil (in the voice

15 Ferrua 1942: 246–47.

16 Ihm 1895: 88; Carletti Colafrancesco 1976: 255.

17 Ver. *Aen.* 2.302: *summi fastigia tecti* (Troy); see also *Aen.* 8.366: *angusti subter fastigia tecti* (the hut of Evander). Ovid, *Meta.* 15.446: *per saecula longa potentem* on Helenus' prophecy to Aeneas that Rome would be made powerful through the long centuries until Augustus appeared to make her *domina rerum*; and Ovid, *Ep. ex Pont.* 3.3.81: *post saecula longa revisam*. All noted by Ihm. See also Hoogma 1959: 242.

18 Begin with Hinds 1998. For "appropriate" as descriptor of lyrical "borrowings" that enrich the recent songs of Bob Dylan see Thomas 2007: 38 and Wilentz 2010: 312. To be clear, in what follows I mean to foreground authorship and composition on the principle that all "art . . . involves conversations with the past" (Wilentz 2010: 311) but without insisting on a single reading or denying the countless ways that meaning might be constituted at the point of reception.

19 For demonstration see Palmer 1989: 180–204; Mastrangelo 2008; and Malamud 2011.

of Andromache) describes Priam's daughter Polyxena as fortunate (in retrospect) to have been sacrificed by the Greek host to the shade of Achilles after the fall of Troy (3.321–24).

*O felix una ante alias Priameia virgo
hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis
iussa mori, quae sortitus non pertulit ullos
nec victoris eri tetigit captiva cubile.*

She was the one, / the happiest one of all, Priam's virgin daughter / doomed to die at our enemy's tomb – Achilles – / under the looming walls of Troy. No captive slave / allotted to serve the lust of a conquering hero's bed! (transl. R. Fagles)

As scholars, including Ihm, have long been aware, a half century after Constantina's death, at the close of his poem on Agnes, Prudentius also drew his readers' attention to Vergil's Polyxena by addressing his young Christian martyr as "*O virgo felix, O nova gloria*" (Per. 14.124).²⁰ Both Constantina and Prudentius, however, may have intended this Vergilian prod also to awaken their readers' memories of Ovid's more expansively told tale of Polyxena, a *fortis et infelix et plus quam femina virgo*, who in his telling preserved her nobility and purity by freely embracing her execution.²¹ Through her own words in the *Metamorphoses* Ovid's Polyxena crystallized the Vergilian notion of violation escaped and honor preserved through "an unsullied, free death": "Keep far away, let no man lay his hands on my virgin body. Whoever he is you seek to please by killing me, more welcome my blood will be if freely given."²² Such sentiments, of course, not only expressed deep-seated Roman values of honor and shame but also might have seemed to fourth-century readers to anticipate (though inversely) subsequent Christian constructions of martyrdom as the willful acceptance of sacrificial death.

20 As Palmer 1989: 179 notes, *nova gloria* (Aen. 11.154) both aligns Agnes with Evander's tragically dead son Pallas and elevates her death *in armis* over his.

21 Ovid, *Meta.* 13.439–80 (quote at 13.451). She announced to Neoptolemus her nobility (13.457): "utere . . . generoso sanguine" and in falling to the ground at her execution took care "castique decus servare pudoris" (13.480). The argument for Prudentius's indirect play to Ovid is made by Burrus 1995: 39–40.

22 *Meta.* 13.466–69: *tactuque viriles / virgineo removete manus! Acceptor illi, / quisquis est, quem caede mea placare paratis, / liber erit sanguis.* Translation by R. Humphries and quote at Fratanuono 2011: 379.

One effect, then, of Constantina's Vergilian allusion must have been to provoke sophisticated readers to view (what they knew about) Agnes's resistance to male aggression and sexual violation in a religious context through the lens of the classically sanctioned Polyxena. In light of the latter heroine's noble defiance, the former, too, could be configured as more victor than victim. But even that is to miss a step. In fact, it is only Polyxena's backstory, drawn from an earlier heroic age but activated by the Vergilian allusion, that supplies any (textual) narrative at all for the Agnes of Constantina's epigram, wherein the young martyr is merely a maiden *victrix* and *felix*. Presumably oral tradition provided one framework for reading these verses, but Constantina now refined Agnes's tale by mobilizing Polyxena's. She may also have hoped to elevate the Christian martyr over her classical forerunner, for both lexically – through the overlapping language of victory – and structurally it is the unique triumph of Christ over death that provides the ultimate context for assessing Agnes's final victory, a realm to which Polyxena had no access.

Constantina and Perilla

Classical learning and poetry are at the heart of an even more complex set of echoes in Constantina's metrical inscription. Ihm's list of parallels refers the reader of Constantina's *quod vincit opus* in line five to Ovid's *Tristia* 3.7.19–20.²³ In those lines, admonishing his addressee to continue composing poetry, Ovid had written: *ergo si remanent ignes tibi pectoris idem, / sola tuum vates Lesbia vincet opus* ("so, if the same fire still burns in your heart, only the Lesbian singer will surpass your work"). The verbal echo will have seemed less faint to late ancient readers.²⁴ Moreover, an "appropriate" thematic link increases the likelihood that Constantina's *quod vincit opus* did indeed nudge readers to recall Ovid's poem: to assert the incomparability of her own achievement (ostensibly her *templum victricis virginis*) Constantina alluded to lines in which Ovid prophesized (hyperbolically) the preeminence of his addressee's poetry (*opus*) over that of all rivals except Sappho. In this manner, then, Constantina's enlistment of Ovid would be the neat deployment of a classical allusion to underwrite her boast in respect to her own accomplishments, poetic perhaps as well as euergetic.

But is it likely that Constantina had in mind *Tristia* 3.7 when she composed her epigram? The case can be built on several grounds. Ovid's *Tristia* were hardly obscure. They had, in fact, long been a popular source for epigraphic

²³ Ihm 1895: 88; followed by Diehl, *ILCV* 1768.

²⁴ On the typicality of two or three word "imitations or reminiscences" in Constantina's contemporary Juvenius see Green 2006: 52.

poetry, especially metrical epitaphs.²⁵ Furthermore, *Tristia* 3.7 itself is a particularly prominent poem within the corpus of the *Tristia* both architecturally and thematically: it was the “central poem” of book three, when Ovid sent that book to Rome in 11 CE, while book three itself was eventually the pivotal book of the five books of *Tristia*.²⁶ In addition, 3.7 is a distinctive poem amid the collection: it is the sole poem in the *Tristia* whose recipient – notably a young woman addressed as Perilla – is identified by name and, as others have noted, Ovid’s persona in this poem is atypically “defiant,” “confident” and “self-assertive.”²⁷ Moreover, it is possible to detect other reminiscences of *Tristia* 3.7 in *Constantina deum venerans*: Constantina’s clausula *victricis virginis Agnes*, for example, rhythmically and phonetically recalls Ovid’s *teneris in virginis annis* (3.7.17), which appears in the very couplet preceding that containing the clausula *vincet opus*; late in Ovid’s poem *Roma* is styled *victrix*, as would be Agnes in *Constantina deum venerans*.²⁸ Other apparent parallels are less convincing on their own, but their accumulation within a poem of only fourteen hexameters bolsters the argument that Constantina was meditating upon *Tristia* 3.7 at the time she composed her epigram for S. Agnese.²⁹ But why should Constantina have been drawn to *Tristia* 3.7?

Ovid addressed *Tristia* 3.7 to the young Roman poetess Perilla, probably his stepdaughter, and his elegy is primarily a poem about pedagogy, poetry, and immortality.³⁰ His manifest aim was to encourage Perilla to persist in the writing of poetry, for which she showed marked ability and in whose pursuit he

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- 25 Lissberger 1934: 177–79 for one list. For near contemporary poets see below. The shadow cast by Ovid’s exile poetry even into the twenty-first century is documented in Ingleheart 2011.
- 26 Evans 1983: 170–72; Green 1994: 241, making 3.7 the central poem of the collection, though this begs the question of the state of the *Tristia* in the early fourth century. On chronology of publication see Claassen 2009: 174.
- 27 Nagle 1980: 150; Evans 1983: 18 and 59; Green 1994: 241.
- 28 *Tristia* 3.7.51–52: *dumque suis victrix septem de montibus orbem / prospiciet domitum Martia Roma, legar*. Neither noted by Ihm.
- 29 Compare Constantina’s *nomen Adae referens* with the *singula ne referam* of *Tristia* 3.7.43, though *Aen.* 5.564, *nomen avi referens* (of the youth Priamus “renewing his grandsire’s name”), noted by Ihm, is first order. See also Constantina’s *caeca nocte levata* and Ovid’s *nostra levata mora* (3.7.8), though the combination of *caeca* and *nox* is not uncommon, e.g., *Cat.* 68.44: *caeca nocte* and Vergil, *Geo.* 3.260: *nocte natat caeca*, with only the latter noted by Ihm; both by Diehl at *ILCV* 1768.
- 30 On background and themes see Nagle 1980: 150–52; Evans 1983: 17–19; 58–59, 70–72; Green 1994: 241–42.

had once tutored her. In the tender years of her girlhood, Ovid reminded her, he had recognized her talent (*ingenium*) and had become her *dux* and *comes* in poetry's art.³¹ Both Perilla's skill and her training, Ovid asserted, demanded that, despite the dangers exemplified by his exile, Perilla should continue to pursue the immortality due to a singer of (as he put it) *carmina docta* (3.7.12). In the end, he wrote, "we possess nothing that is not mortal except the blessings of heart (*pectus*) and mind (*ingenium*)."³² From Tomis, therefore, Ovid offered himself as Perilla's model and inspiration: even should the sword cut me down, "when I'm gone, my fame (*fama*) will endure, / and while from her seven hills Mars' Rome in triumph (*victrix*) / still surveys a conquered world, I shall be read."³³ The whole poem, as Betty Rose Nagle has observed, "is based on the idea that Ovid is an *exemplum* for Perilla."³⁴

Clearly he was for Constantina as well. Her epigram's undeniable tapestry of Ovidian echoes, woven from the *Metamorphoses* and *Amores* as well as the *Tristia*, leaves little doubt.³⁵ By gesturing specifically towards *Tristia* 3.7, however, Constantina could directly engage Ovid on those issues of poetry and immortality that were as thematically central to her epigram as they were to his elegy. Certainly her echo of *Tristia* 3.7.20 (*vincet opus*) could help readers to envision her *opera* – *carmen* and *templum* – as similarly unmatched by the work of rivals. Once the idiosyncratic *Tristia* 3.7 was invoked, however, the reader stepped upon a nearly unbounded field of play. Poets from a platonizing Prudentius to a wizened Bob Dylan, alienated yet committed to poetry's expressive power, have employed allusions to the *Tristia* in order to cast themselves "in the role" of the exiled Ovid.³⁶ By calling up *Tristia* 3.7 specifically, however, Constantina could also don the mask of the *doctissima* Perilla, intimating to her readers that she, too, had been a young woman schooled,

31 *Tristia* 3.7.13–18.

32 *Tristia* 3.7.43–44: *singula ne referam, nil non mortale tenemus / pectoris exceptis ingenique bonis*.

33 *Tristia* 3.7.50–53: *me tamen extincto fama superstes erit, / dumque suis victrix septem de montibus orbem / prospiciet domitum Martia Roma, legar*. Translation from Green 1994: 53. See Evans 1983: 17–19; Williams 2002: 240.

34 Nagle 1980: 150.

35 More parallels at Ihm 1895: 88; ILCV 1768; and Ferrua 1942: 249–50.

36 Malamud 2011: 190, by referencing *Tristia* 1.1.29–30 "in the final line of the *Hamartigenia* . . . Prudentius casts himself in the role of Ovid." For the many echoes of the *Tristia* in Dylan's *Modern Times* (2006) see Fell 2006 (for Dylan "in the mask of a new Ovid, a kind of modern exile in the modern world"); Thomas 2007: 35–38; and Harrison 2011: 218–22.

delighted, and inspired by Ovid to reach for literary *fama*.³⁷ Yet this sort of textual posturing, elegantly Ovidian in its own right,³⁸ could simultaneously be undercut by challenging Ovid's conception of the place and power of poetry in life and the afterlife. Constantina transferred the epithet *victrix* from Roma to the martyr Agnes and implicitly demoted the brand of immortality achieved on the tongues of men that was Ovid's final consolation in *Tristia* 3.7 – I shall be read. The centerpiece of her epigram was the far more palpable victory over oblivion won for all through Christ's resurrection. Constantina thus endorsed but subordinated Ovidian *ingenium* in a hierarchy of values revised under the pressure of imperial patronage for the cult of Christ and the martyrs, both honoring and trumping her Augustan master in poetry's art. The cultural capital inherited from so many generations of Latin poets was thus reinvested at higher interest rates.

This, or something like it, we are entitled to imagine. Certainly, Constantina did not tell Agnes's "story" in any obvious way. Yet by alluding to Vergil's Polyxena and Ovid's Perilla, Constantina gave learned readers access to a classical terrain upon which they could situate the Christian virgin martyr's tale as well as the persona of her poetic champion. Polyxena's ruthless murder at a hero's tomb had paradoxically preserved the sexual purity (and autonomy) stolen from so many other Trojan women who survived the city's fall; Ovid's exhortation to Perilla foregrounded the unassailable defenses of a mind dedicated to a higher calling (in her case poetic excellence), no less impervious to cruel sword than it might be to imperial edict. Both themes, set on display by Constantina, would become staples of the late empire's virgin martyr tales.

Poetry and the Cityscape

Should we be surprised at such sophisticated literary "play" in a Constantinian court of the 340s?³⁹ Surely not. Other Latin poets and writers of the age were engaged in similar projects – some of them with connections to Constantine and members of his family. As Roger Green, Michael Roberts, and others have shown, Juvenius' gospel epic on the *vitalia gesta* of Christ,

37 *Tristia* 3.7.31: *ergo desidia remove, doctissima, causas.*

38 Claassen 2008: 8–10.

39 For clever reading and writing as "play" see *carmen* 21 of Constantina's older contemporary Optatianus Porphyrius. Addressed to a certain Bassus, the piece contains an inner "visual figure" that reads "*Publius Optatianus Porphyrius haec lusi omne genus metri tibi pangens optime Basse.*" See Barnes 1975: 183; Levitan 1985: 265–66.

the *Evangeliorum libri quattuor*, appearing in the late 320s and perhaps familiar in court circles in Constantina's teenage years, anticipated clever readers.⁴⁰ "Already in Juvenius," as Roberts has noted, "the distinctive possibilities of Christian-classical intertextuality are evident," including recourse to the *Tristia*.⁴¹ Moreover, the literary commitments of Constantine himself, who brought the rhetoricians Lactantius to Trier and Magnus Arborius to Constantinople to tutor his sons (and daughters?) are evident.⁴² Lactantius was undeniably steeped in Latin poetry and has been suggested as the author of that curious poem of allusive elegiacs and hidden meanings, the *De Ave Phoenix* (ca. 303?).⁴³

Furthermore, Constantine, himself, was no bore. In a letter to Optatianus Porfyrius written soon after the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, he issued what T.D. Barnes once called a "cultural manifesto" for his age: his times would nourish literary pursuits.⁴⁴ It was on this very promise, as Ray Van Dam has recently reiterated, that Porfyrius pinned his hopes for recall from exile, producing a corpus of ingenious *carmina figurata* that reveal, among other things, a fondness not only for acrostics and telestics but also, perhaps unsurprisingly, for Ovid's exile poetry, the *Epistulae ex Ponto* as well as the *Tristia*.⁴⁵ Indeed, *Constantina deum venerans* once seemed sufficiently Porfyrian that some scholars suspected, albeit wrongly, the latter's authorship of the piece – although Constantina's awareness of the poetry that Porfyrius sent to her father is likely, and even a personal acquaintanceship with the man who was urban prefect at Rome during her youth is not impossible.⁴⁶ Finally, if the learned speech now

40 *Praef.* 19: *nam mihi carmen erit Christi vitalia gesta*. Green 2006: 3–7 accepts Jerome's date of 329 for the *ELQ*, by which time Constantine was in the east, having visited Rome for what would be his last time in 326. The work closes with praise of Constantine: 4.806–12. Notably Juvenius' "wider purpose" (Green 2006: 128) – to continue (in classicizing verse) the evangelizing commission given to the disciples so that people might have eternal life (4.799: *ut vitam possint agitare perennem*) – anticipates the central theme of Constantina's epigram.

41 Roberts 2004: 50. Vergil's presence is "substantial" in the *ELQ* but Ovid is evident as well. See Huemer 1891 with the *Tristia* at e.g., 2.62, 4.60, and 4.129.

42 Wlosok 1993: 429, on Lactantius as tutor of Crispus by 314/15. *PLRE* 1, 98–99, "Arborius 3."

43 Wlosok 1993: 429, crediting the poem to Lactantius and dating it ca. 303/04; with 452–55 on its "signification chrétienne cachée." See also Fitzpatrick 1933: 31–37, on Lactantian authorship.

44 Barnes 1975: 185.

45 Van Dam 2011: 163–70. Levitan 1985. Polara 1973: Vol. 1, *passim*, on the classical parallels.

46 For an attribution of *Constantina deum venerans* to Porfyrius see, e.g., C. Cavedoni, *Opuscoli di Modena* t. III: 333 cited at Ferrua *ICUR* 8, p. 13; Polara 1973 included the poem

known as the *Oration to the Saints* was indeed delivered by Constantine, then the intellectual buzz and hum of his court is as self-evident as the emperor's messianic exegesis of Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* was novel.⁴⁷ In short, there is no *a priori* impediment to the reading of *Constantina deum venerans* offered above.

What might give pause, however, is the unprecedented turn to epigraphic poetry as a medium of imperial self-representation in mid-fourth-century Rome, now represented not only by Constantina's verses at Sant'Agnese but also by her brother's twenty-four hexameters inscribed on the base of the titanic obelisk he erected a decade later in the Circus Maximus and by a series of metrical inscriptions laid out in mosaic on the walls of Old St. Peter's, almost surely in these same years.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, in the generation after Constantina, it would be Damasus who would literally surround the city with classicizing verse *elogia* installed at the tombs of the martyrs (including Agnes), while the final gasp of direct imperial sponsorship of a dedicatory *carmen epigraphicum* appears to be a two-hexameter text of the emperor Honorius at St. Paul's on the Ostian Way.⁴⁹ Thereafter it is the city's bishops (or their clerical representatives) who dominate the record, regularly adding their verses to new constructions both in the suburbs and within the walls.⁵⁰ The rising bulk of this material has the potential, therefore, to obscure the revolutionary character of the imperial "program" of the late Constantinian period. Indeed, when, nearly two centuries after Constantina had lavished her financial and literary capital on the promotion of Agnes, Pope Felix IV (526–530) dedicated a church to Cosmas and Damian on the edge of the Roman forum, it was only natural that he would announce his benefaction in classicizing verse. Only coincidence,

in his edition of Porphyrius as *carmen* XXI but rejected Porphyrius' authorship (see 2: 168–69). On chronology and career see *PLRE* 1, 69, "Publius Optatianus signo Porphyrius"; Barnes 1975. Porphyrius was urban prefect at Rome in 329 and again in 333, that is, a decade or so before the composition of *Constantina deum venerans*. It was probably in 325 that he was recalled to court; his date of death is not recorded.

47 The *Oration to the Saints* = Eus. *Vita Constantini* book 5 (see 4.32). In support of Constantinian authorship see, e. g., Edwards 1999 and 2003; Drake 2000, 292–93; Barnes 2001 and 2011: 113–20. Date and setting remain controversial. Edwards 1999: 268 favors Rome at Eastertide 314; Barnes 2011: 114–18 argues for Nicomedia in April 325. Exegesis: chs. 19–21. Benko 1980: 670–72.

48 On the obelisk of Constantius II see Grenier 1996, with bibliography. On Old St. Peter's see Carletti 2000: 440–42, a topic I will take up elsewhere.

49 On Damasus see Ferrua 1942; Carletti 2000: 444–47; Trout 2005. Honorius: *CLE* 314 = *ILCV* 1761a = *ICUR* 2.4780; Carletti 2000: 448.

50 Carletti 2000: 448–56.

however, accounts for the (distant) echo of Ovid's *Tristia* amid the couplets that Felix set into that odd structure's mosaicked apse.⁵¹

In sum, from our vantage point the revision of Rome's late antique cityscape seems almost everywhere accompanied by installations of inscribed verse. Like Constantina's hexameters at Sant'Agnese, these epigrams typically promoted the city's new image and its benefactors – bishops, clerics, and especially the martyrs themselves – by regularly appealing to Rome's pre-Christian literary and cultural traditions. To some extent, then, these texts offered knowing readers diverse means of linking contemporary Rome to earlier "Romes" that had not so much faded away as been updated for present needs. Moreover, that process of physical and textual remapping continued unabated over the centuries of late antiquity. Pope Honorius's construction of a new Sant'Agnese *ad corpus* in the seventh century, therefore, replete with the metrical dedication still visible in the church's apse, suggests the dilapidation but not irrelevance of Constantina's fourth-century basilica.⁵² Constantina's dedicatory epigram, however, may have slipped from view even sooner, for no early medieval *sylloge* preserves it. Unfortunately, the most striking near-contemporary portrait of Constantina is the malicious one left by a scandalized Ammianus.⁵³ The empress would seem to deserve better – if, that is, we accept her composition of classicizing verse bent to novel Christian ends as a precocious foreshadowing of the sophisticated poetics credited to the later fourth century's better known poets.

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51 *ILCV* 1784.5–6: *optulit hoc domino Felix antistite dignum / munus, ut aetheria vivat in arce poli*. Diehl noted *Tristia* 4.3.5: *aetheriamque suis cingens amplexibus arcem*. The combination also appears more appropriately at *Tristia* 5.3.19 (of Bacchus): *ipse quoque aethérias meritis invectus es arces*. But see also, e.g., *App. Verg. Culex*, 42; Statius, *Theb.* 3.222; Valerius Flaccus, *Argo*. 2.119.

52 *ILCV* 1769A = *ICUR* 8.20757. See De Santis 2010: 226.

53 Amm. 14.1.2; 14.1.8; 14.7.4; 14.9.3; 14.11.22.

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Michelangelo's Marble Blog: Epigraphic Walls as Pictures and Samples of Language

Kevin McMahon

Spolia to Epigraphic Walls

In 1546 Roman workers digging in the Forum discovered fragments of a list of consuls and generals. These fragmentary *fasti consulares et triumphales* were immediately appropriated by Cardinal Farnese as historic treasures. Within two years the fragments were installed in a courtyard of the Capitoline, in an architectural display designed by the most famous artist in Europe, Michelangelo Buonarroti.

Some seventy-five years after the fragmentary *fasti* were unearthed, Robert Burton, poised, like us, in the middle of an information explosion, prefaced his *Anatomy of Melancholy* with an apology for adding another book to the world's store of books – a book, moreover, he admitted, made out of fragments quoted from other books:

And for those other faults of barbarism, Doric dialect, extemporanean style, tautologies, apish imitation, a rhapsody of rags gathered together from several dung-hills, excrements of authors, toys and fopperies confusedly tumbled out, without art, invention, judgment, wit, learning, harsh, raw, rude, phantastical, absurd, insolent, indiscreet, ill-composed, indigested, vain, scurrile, idle, dull, and dry; I confess all ('tis partly affected), thou canst not think worse of me than I do of myself.¹

This exuberant and incoherent quotation has a remarkable architectural analog – places where fragments of ancient inscription are built into the wall. These “epigraphic walls,” to give them a name, have escaped the attention of scholars. Epigraphists have studied the inscriptions, and historians have studied the practice of reusing antique fragments in buildings, but these walls don't belong to any single discipline: although they concern classical artifacts, they are a post-classical phenomenon. Although they are texts, they are

¹ Burton 1977: 26.

constructions. Though seemingly didactic, they are also decor. Though common throughout Europe for centuries, they fell out of favor in modern times. These remarkable works, which testify to revolutionary changes in attitude toward the visual, the linguistic, and the spatial, embody a series of contradictions:

- Words that are ideas / Words that are things
- Words that are ideas / Words that are images
- Words that are common property / Words that are private property
- Words that are in books / Words that are in public space
- Words that communicate my meaning / Words that communicate another's meaning
- Words that communicate / Words that are illegible
- Words that communicate / Words that are unintelligible

Though ubiquitous, these epigraphic walls are invisible. There are brief mentions of epigraphic walls in travelers' narratives, visitor guides, and other contemporary accounts, but there is no literature on the history or aesthetics of this practice. Rome's great epigraphic walls are no longer highlighted in the guidebooks – the long hallway of niches of the Vatican Lapidaria, the letters rubbed with red in the Sistine Rooms, the plaques in the Capitoline, the portico of Santa Maria in Trastevere, San Paolo fuori le Mura. These places are not just beautiful: they embody epochal changes in attitude toward antiquity, language and public space.

For the sake of discussion, let us assume that the intentions of the builders of these walls were various, and that, in the absence of much solid evidence, they can only be discussed in terms of broad cultural currents. A more important question – what to make of these walls now? – I will argue, may be addressed through an analogy with the concept of quotation, which is illustrated by the use of quotation and free typography in modernist poetry, and the use of language in contemporary art.

Spolia and the Commons

When the Emperor Constantine authorized masons to recycle elements from older buildings in Rome for the construction of the Lateran Church and St. Peter's basilica (circa 313) and his own Arch (circa 315), this recycling of materials – *spolia*, in modern terminology – was not motivated by economy, convenience, or lack of craftsmen, but, according to Beat Brenk, to communicate a message of political continuity and legitimacy, as well as to provide

aesthetic variety.² While politics and aesthetics might have been the initial spur, over time *spolia* became a practical necessity. In the late fourth century, the emperor Valens authorized the scavenging of materials from the city walls of Chalecedon in order to build a new public bath in Constantinople. These walls were repaired, in turn, with scraps scavenged from other structures. According to Socrates Scholasticus, writing in the middle of the fifth century, the citizens of Chalecedon were still complaining about the walls' shoddy appearance two centuries later. In the end there was no alternative to recycling, and "by the end of the Empire all construction materials except timber were supplied from ruinous or abandoned older structures."³

According to Kinney, "where there is marble in the Middle Ages there are *spolia*."⁴ Between the sixth and the twelfth centuries in Europe, used marble was typically the only marble available, and medieval builders viewed antiquity as a quarry. And so, in the twelfth century, when masons were building a church in Brescia and came across a block with a Latin inscription, they used it. As it happens, they stuck it in the wall of Santa Maria in Solario sideways.⁵ The builders of the late antique and the early medieval eras did not view the ruins of antiquity as commodities from a lost world but as resources of their own world. Medieval masons used inscribed stone blocks for foundations, facing walls, pavements, and rubble fills.⁶ *Spolia* could have many meanings, but for centuries they provided a way to get things built.

The late medieval worker in Britain prying stones loose from a partially ruined Roman villa believed that he was exercising his right to exploit the resources of his environment, in the same way that he felt free – within restrictions – to catch a fish in the local river. Both fishing and *spolia* are instances of the Right of Commons – that is, the private appropriation of resources from the commons, from the State, or from a private rights holder. The less-celebrated supplement to the Magna Carta, *The Great Charter of the Forest* (1217), affirmed the right of English Free-Men to pasture their pigs in the King's forests. The rights of "common in soil," "estover," "agistment," "turbary" (i.e. the right to take stone and gravel, the right to take firewood, the right to pasture sheep, the right to cut turf) were once essential and recognized aspects of public life; now their very names are unknown.⁷

2 Brenk 1987: 103–9.

3 Coates-Stephens 2002: 279–80, with references.

4 Kinney 2001: 145.

5 *Brescia romana* 1979: 2.82 (ill. 5).

6 Coates-Stephens 2002: 289.

7 See Linebaugh 2008.

Epigraphic Walls in Renaissance Culture

Jumping forward a few centuries to 1489, workers in Brescia once again dig up an inscription from the Roman era. But now, rather than using it as a brick, the Brescians carefully display it, by building it into the exterior of the Monte Vecchio in the main town square.⁸ On public display, the inscription attracts attention.⁹ It is studied and eventually cataloged in the standard *corpus* of Latin inscriptions as *CIL* v 4365. The rediscovered inscription is no longer a block of masonry, but a witness to history. Concerning this and other inscriptions, a local historian boasted that the Brescians had “understood their value, and conceived the idea of setting them in public buildings, thereby providing not only for the beautification of those structures, but also for the preservation of those precious monuments of antiquity.”¹⁰ And so the epigraphic wall was born.

What had happened to cause this shift from *spolia* to epigraphic walls? The motives of the builders are no longer accessible, but there are some clues. One answer could be a changed sense of the past. According to Erwin Panofsky, “Where all Christian thinkers before him had thought of [history] as a continuous development, beginning with the creation of the world and leading up to the writer’s own lifetime, [Petrarch] saw it sharply divided into two periods, the classical and the ‘recent’ . . .”, so that “the classical world ceased to be both a possession and a menace. It became instead the object of a passionate nostalgia . . .”¹¹ According to Heckscher, Petrarch was perhaps the first to articulate the sense of antiquity as a lost paradise whose ruins and remains had become venerable – and therefore precious – relics of a past that was irrevocably detached from his own epoch.¹² And so *spolia* became despoliation. Joachim du Bellay (translated by Edmund Spenser) signaled the new attitude of outrage: “Triumphant Arcks, spyres neighbors to the skie, / That you to see doth th’ heaven it selfe appall, / Alas, by little ye to nothing flie, / The peoples fable, and the spoyle of all.”¹³

Civic patriotism was another motive. The discovery of Roman inscriptions was evidence of a site’s antiquity and connection with high urban civilization.

8 *Brescia romana* 1979: 1.200.

9 *Brescia romana* 1979: 2.22 (ill. 3), 24.

10 Greenhalgh 1989.

11 Panofsky 1972: 10. Using similar terminology, Françoise Choay (2001: 28) has traced the impact of this change on architecture.

12 Heckscher 1938: 204–20.

13 Spenser 1959: 510.

Public display of these literal messages from the past, even in fragments, demonstrated that one's ancestors were civilized. And so, "Elia Capreoli, in his history of Brescia, which was published in 1505, claimed that so many inscriptions and Roman remains were found there that the city could be regarded as the sister of Rome."¹⁴

Linguistic interest played an important part. Early renaissance rhetoric could get fervent about the Latin language – Valla in *De elegantia linguae latinae* (1471) went so far as to proclaim "its divinity, which has been preserved these many centuries with religious and holy awe, by strangers, by barbarians, by enemies, so that we Romans should not grieve but rejoice, and the whole listening earth should glory."¹⁵ In this very enthusiasm, Michael Baxandall discerned a disconnect: "it would be wrong to call humanist discourse unreal, but it was able to exercise with a quite unusual independence of verification against un-literary experience. . . . it was never intended as a breathless statement of fresh perceptions of the world: lyric responses to fifteenth-century reality would have disrupted the neo-classical texture of their performance very seriously."¹⁶

Within this linguistic revolution inscriptions began to function as physical evidence – texts that had an aura of authenticity. Whereas "manuscript material comes to the Renaissance as a succession of earlier transcriptions, epigraphic materials carved in stone are more like the thing itself."¹⁷ And so, according to Saxl, among renaissance scholars the assumption developed that "hardly any inscription could exist which would not contain some good, useful and instructive maxim, or some piece of choice knowledge. . . . Every inscription might one day yield a vital truth."¹⁸ When Erasmus in his *Ciceronianus* (1528) articulated one of the few contemporary arguments against interest in inscriptions, it came in the form of a caustic attack on the formalized language: "How we admire an inscription or epitaph found on a broken stone: 'To the departed spirit of Lucia, an outstanding wife, dead before her time, Marcellus placed this sacred memorial. Woe is me! Why do I live?'. In texts like these are often found not only unlearned pagan sentiments, but also remarkable

14 Stenhouse 2005: 30.

15 Ross 1953: 132–33, transl. by F.A. Gragg.

16 Baxandall 1971: 47.

17 Barkan 1999: 27.

18 Saxl 1941: 19.

solecisms, but we hold them close, we venerate and almost adore antiquity, and sneer at the remains of the apostles.”¹⁹

To the motives of patriotism and philology were added greed and ostentation, as inscription fragments became commodities for dealers and trophies for collectors. The notorious Annius (c. 1432–1502) discovered early how advantageous it could be to exploit these passions, by forging inscriptions as evidence of his thesis that Viterbo predated Athens and Rome.²⁰ On the other hand, genuine inscriptions were re-carved on modern stones without any criminal intent, as in Reginald Bainbrigg’s (1545–1606) Elizabethan epigraphic wall in a garden at Appleby-in-Westmoreland.²¹

Michelangelo and Renaissance Images of the Fragment

Michelangelo’s design for his installation within a courtyard in the Capitoline Museums of the fragmentary *fasti consulares* unearthed in the Roman Forum in 1546 is illustrated in an engraving in an early commentary on the inscriptions.²² Thirty-eight years later Michelangelo’s installation was moved inside the Palazzo, where – with some modifications – it remains today, forming a background for the Etruscan She-Wolf. Since the *fasti* from the Forum were carved on the face of blocks that formed a vertical wall, Michelangelo’s installation made the most of its grand scale by presenting the fragments in something like their original spatial relationship to each other. The irregular edges of each fragment are highlighted by the simple rectilinear horizontal and vertical lines of the wall. And there was no attempt to restore the missing pieces of text – that was saved for the printed commentaries.

Michelangelo’s wall is a demonstration of how the attitude toward fragmented antiquities changed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from something lamented, ignored, or overcome through imaginative attempts at *renovatio*, into something important to respect.²³ The change is documented

19 Stenhouse 2005: 102; Erasmus *Cic.* 1015–18: *ut admiramur epigramma seu epitaphium in corroso quopiam saxo repertum: Luciae coniugi carissimae ante tempus exstinctae Marcellus posuit Dis Manibus sacrum. / O me infelicem! / Cur vivo? / In huiusmodi cum saepe numero non solum sensus inepti et paganici, verum etiam insignes reperiantur soloecismi, tamen ea exosculamur veneramur ac propemodum adoramus antiquitatem et apostolorum reliquias deridemus*, ed. Schoenberger p. 42, transl. Stenhouse.

20 Stenhouse 2005: 76.

21 Hepple 2001: 109–120.

22 Degrassi 1954. Also Leuschner 1999: 618–21 and Taylor 1950: 84–95.

23 Heckscher 1938: 204–20.



FIGURE 17.1 *Michelangelo's original 1548 installation of Fasti Consulari fragments at the Capitoline, from B. Marliano, Consulum dictatorum censorumque Romanorum, 1549.*

REPRODUCED IN ARGAN, GIULIO CARLO, AND BRUNO CONTARDI. 1993.
MICHELANGELO ARCHITECT. NEW YORK: HARRY N. ABRAMS

in the different ways collectors of inscriptions transcribed them in their handwritten editions. The *sylloge* of Bartolomaeus Fontius (b. 1445) was a handwritten publication of a collection, circulated as a public document, and organized *ad hoc*. The inscriptions appear as he found them, as if the only context the fragments required was the understanding of a cultured reader.²⁴ Around 1497 – the moment the citizens of Brescia decided to display epigraphic fragments publicly in the walls of a civic building – Benedetto Giovio produced a *sylloge* in which the transcribed texts were accompanied by drawings of the original epigraphic fragments.²⁵ This was the first time that the appearance of the stone artifact that carried the text was considered worth communicating. The candor and comprehensiveness of the presentation are new. In Giovio we can see a scholarly scrupulousness in admitting where one is unsure, being frank about what one does not know. And he is attempting to present the facts as they appear, with a minimum of interpretation, so that other scholars might be able to draw their own conclusions. He is also respecting the uniqueness of

24 Saxl 1941: 24.

25 Weiss 1969: 129–30.

the objects, as precious artifacts. As Barkan observed, “all this protoarchaeology – not only epigraphy but also many other objects of discovery – stands at the threshold of words and images. Decidedly logocentric humanists like Giovanni Mansionario or Ciriaco d’Ancona find it necessary and useful to produce drawings in the midst of the verbal texts they compose in order to record their discoveries.”²⁶

When Jacopo Mazzocchi published the first printed book of inscriptions, *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (1521), however, he did not incorporate drawings but simply transcribed the texts in the older style.²⁷ It wasn’t until 1588, when Martin de Smet published his *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber*, that transcription was combined with graphic representation in a printed publication. De Smet’s volume used drawings to clarify the physical state of the fragments, but it also employed typography – line breaks, capitalization, etc. – to mimic the appearance of the original inscriptions in the printed transcriptions.

After Michelangelo

The installation of the *fasti* within the Capitoline Museums is not notably significant in Michelangelo’s career, but it was probably decisive for setting the vogue for epigraphic walls throughout Europe. There may have been earlier epigraphic walls in Brescia, or Pisa, or Spoleto, but Michelangelo’s installation at the Capitoline was the most prominent one. It was copied throughout Italy – especially in Rome – and imitation spread thence throughout Europe, from Scotland to the Czech Republic.

During the first decades of the eighteenth century, the monastery of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome underwent an ambitious rebuilding project. As epigraphic fragments were unearthed (inscriptions of the fourth century had been used as paving stones), they were built into epigraphic walls – an activity that would continue at San Paolo until the second World War.²⁸ By the first decade of the nineteenth century the Vatican’s collection of inscriptions had grown to the point that its curator, Gaetano Marini (1742–1815), instituted a complete re-installation. The resulting epigraphic walls organized the inscriptions by language, genre and religion, and also created a visually compelling

26 Barkan 1999: 27.

27 On the other hand, Mazzocchi’s book has been praised by Petrucci 1993 as a sophisticated attempt to align textual and visual meaning.

28 See Filippi 1998.

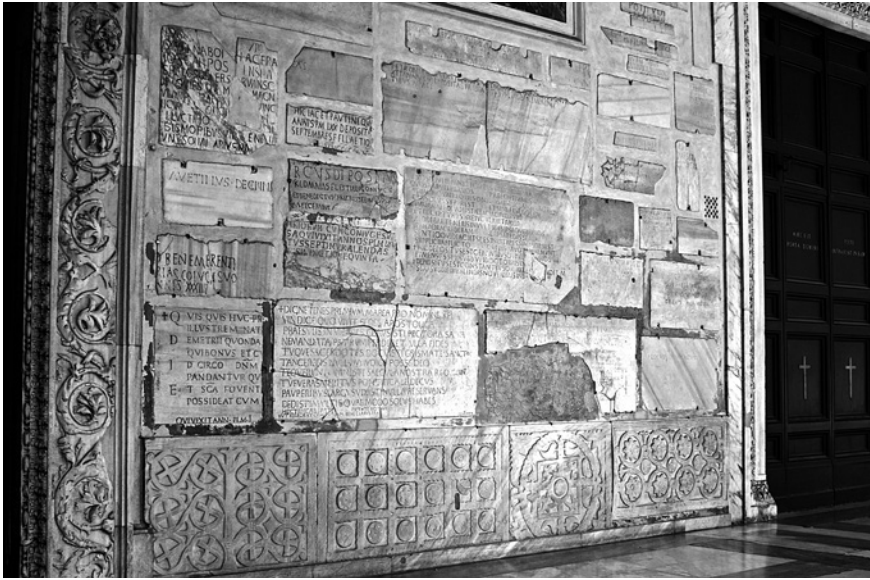


FIGURE 17.2 *Epigraphic wall in the portico of Santa Maria in Trastevere, designed by Fontana, 1702, renovated 1865–1869.*
Photo: Ken Breish, 2013

space. A guidebook of the 1830s praises the “lungo, luminoso, regolare, e magnifico corridoio delle lapidi, architettura del maestoso Bramante, disposizione del letterato insigne Gaetano Marini”.²⁹

As the monks of San Paolo were building their last epigraphic walls during the 1930s, the fashion was experiencing a moment of popularity throughout Fascist Italy.³⁰ The possibility of alluding through this medium to a combination of classical, renaissance, and modernist collage influences proved irresistible to Fascist designers. They created new epigraphic fragments out of speeches of Mussolini, as in the 1937 Mostra Augustea della Romanità (possibly designed by Alfredo Scalpelli). After the Second World War, heavy-handed tampering with artifacts, such as immuring them, began to be deprecated by scholars and the general public alike. At the same time, modernist art had made museum-goers familiar with the display of found objects – the rough edges and undersides of inscription fragments were no longer faults to be hidden. Epigraphic walls ceased to be a convention of display.

29 *L'Album* 1836.

30 Benton 2000: 163–92.



FIGURE 17.3 *Detail of 18th century epigraphic wall behind the Statue of a Wounded Warrior, Palazzo Nuovo, Capitoline.*

PHOTO: KEN BREISCH, 2013

Quotation

Although the intentions of the builders are inaccessible, the walls themselves endure. What to make of them? The issues raised by epigraphic walls can be clarified by considering them as a kind of quotation. Quotations are easier to use than to explain: once you get the idea, you can understand or produce them at will. But what *is* the idea? Philosophers since Gottlob Frege have worried about quotation because they see in the ordinary, everyday practice of quotation a troubling paradox – words being both *mentioned* (talked about) and *used* (employed in the ordinary way). Elizabeth Anscombe captures the difficulty in a definitive paradox: “If I am told ‘That man’s name is “Smith”’, his name is mentioned, not used, and I hear the name of his name but not his name . . . [Hence] It is impossible to be told anyone’s name [or the word for anything].”³¹

31 Anscombe 1956: 121.

Part of the difficulty derives from the fact that the name of a word is the word itself. Another difficulty is the variety of forms quotation takes, and the variety of meanings:

- Direct quotation: *Galileo said, "The earth moves."*
- Indirect quotation: *Galileo said that the earth moves.*
- Mention but not use: *"The earth moves" contains thirteen letters.*
- Both mention and use: *Galileo said, "The earth moves," but I don't feel anything.*
- Scare quotes, in which words are used but with limited earnestness: *Galileo's claim is "true," I suppose.*

In 1940, Willard Van Orman Quine argued that all these kinds of quotation *depict* language. Quotation *pictures* what is referred to: "A quotation is not a description, but a hieroglyph; it designates its object not by describing it in terms of other objects, but by picturing it. The meaning of the whole does not depend upon the meanings of the constituent words."³² Donald Davidson's essay "Quotation", published in 1979, has defined subsequent debate. Davidson claims that quotation is much more than an intellectual puzzle; it is a foundation of our whole discourse about thoughts and feelings: "Quotation is a device used to refer to typographical or phonetic shapes by exhibiting *samples*, that is, inscriptions or utterances that have those shapes."³³ Even if quotations are pictures of language, Davidson points out that they are not just any kind of picture. They are pictures with independent meanings, as well as contextual meanings. The idea of exhibiting samples gives us, among other things, a new way to look at *spolia*.

Samples and Quotational Literature

The era that saw the beginnings of *spolia* in building also witnessed the birth of the *cento* – a poem produced out of lines taken from other poems. In perhaps the most celebrated example, Ausonius's *Cento nuptialis*, phrases from Virgil are re-assembled to describe a couple's wedding night.³⁴ The *cento* is an extreme case, but the practice of literary quotation in antiquity was governed by a different sense of originality. The corpus of literature was understood to

³² Quine 1940: 26.

³³ Davidson 1979: 27–40.

³⁴ For an English-language analog, see Ausonius and Slavitt 1998.

form a resource from which writers appropriated stories, characters, situations, turns of phrase, and diction. It was available for use, but it could not be used thoughtlessly – allusions were a way for a writer to demonstrate erudition and wit. They were expected to be worked into the fabric of the new work. The new work was expected to have its own unity, character and spirit. There was no question of deception or misrepresentation – the qualities at issue when Fidentinus passed off Martial's verses as his own, prompting Martial (*Ep.* 1.52) to call him “*plagiarius*,” (kidnapper or slave-napper) which became in English “plagiarism.”³⁵

The first century saw the development of a quotational genre, the anthology, from Meleager of Gadara's lost *Garland* through the successive poetry anthologies produced into the Byzantine era and up to today. In the second century, Aulus Gellius's *Noctes Atticae* innovated an even more loosely-structured format, closer to a commonplace book. The third-century *Deipnosophistai* of Athenaeus of Naucratis has a fictional setting and characters, but Athenaeus is less interested in creating dramatic interaction than parading quotes from hundreds of Greek authors. These overstuffed, ad hoc assemblages disregard classical form, yet they are the form in which much classical literature has survived. Then as now, these quotational genres have functioned – as Ann Blair has observed – as aids to readers unwilling to traverse formidable bodies of literature directly.³⁶ Moreover, the quotational format of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* in the seventh century led to popular medieval genres such as the epitome, summary, *florilegium*. Blair has noted that circa 1250, scholars like Bonaventure assumed that even “original writing” included much that had been written by others, and defined an “author” as someone who writes “both his own words and another's but his own as the principal ones, the other's as things annexed for confirmation.”³⁷

The dialectical methodology of scholastic philosophy also provided a precedent: Abelard's twelfth-century tour de force *Sic et Non*, in which quotations from different Church Fathers on specific theological issues are juxtaposed to make the contradictions obvious. Yet, Abelard's aim was not to ridicule Catholicism but to demonstrate in the most dramatic way possible the value of carefully weighing different nuances and contexts. Similarly, when Aquinas articulates dissenting opinions, and gives them serious consideration, the

35 Seo 2009: 567–93.

36 Blair 2010: 20, citing Holford-Stevens 2003: 28, observes, “Literary miscellanies appealed to a cultivated elite at a time when the ‘volume of Greek and Latin writing had swollen far beyond the capacity of any normal person to read (let alone remember).’”

37 Blair 2010: 175–76.

different voices might be in error, but help to clarify the final reconciliation. The final literary monument of this attitude is Erasmus's, *Collectanea adagiorum* of 1500 – inspired by Gellius – which collected proverbs and adages from everywhere – pagan authors, the *Bible*, Church Fathers, folk sayings – and presented them as everyone's common property of common sense.

The dissemination of printing and the consequent development of authorship as a profession fundamentally ended the classical/medieval approach to quotation. Peter Burke, following Marshall McLuhan and Elizabeth Eistenstein, has described how the development of printing technology in the Renaissance polarized views of textual property – what he terms “individualist,” where the text is considered “the property of an individual because it was the work of an individual brain”, as opposed to the “collectivist” position, which considers texts “as common property because every new product draws on a common tradition.”³⁸ Embodied in printed commodities, words could no longer be held in common; hence they would be private property. Appropriating somebody's words became appropriating somebody's capital. And the distinction between what is mine and what is yours had to be clearly demarcated. In the first decades of the 1500s, printers began distinguishing quotations from direct speech typographically – with italics – and by the middle of the century the convention of inverted comma quotation marks had become widespread.³⁹

In the first monument of the new quotational era, Montaigne's *Essais*, 1580, the wayward rhythm of each essay, passing from aphorism, to narrative, to argument, to description, seems at first a throwback to the formless miscellanies of Gellius and Athenaeus.⁴⁰ Though they are cited in support of an assertion, they are not dissolved in it. Something distinct and original in each quote resists being completely incorporated into Montaigne's – or anyone else's – argument. He wants us to savor the distinct accent and tone of each quotation. They are both mentioned and used.

While Montaigne was perfecting the use of quotation to delineate more accurately the flux of his feelings, other writers were reviving, of all things, the *cento*. Virgil was again looted, as Proba Falconia and others retold stories from the New Testament by means of Virgilian citations. The sixteenth century also saw a vogue for macaronic parodies, in which the words of different languages were combined according to the syntax of different languages. William

38 Burke 2000: 153.

39 There are several possible contenders, but the modern quotation mark might have debuted in Pierre de la Ramée's *Dialectic* of 1555; cf. Compagnon 1989: 216.

40 Fausta Garavini (1993) has documented Montaigne's use of Thomas Zwinger's encyclopedia/compendium *Theatrum humanae vitae* (1565).

Drummond's *Polemo-Middinia* (1684), probably the major example in "English", describes a battle between villages on the Firth of Forth in Lowland Scotch vernacular tricked out with Latin terminations ("*Lifeguardamque sibi saevas locat improba lassas*").⁴¹ These works both used and mentioned language.

Another contemporary development was the proliferation of methods of organizing miscellaneous collections of texts visually. Domenico Nani Mirabelli's sprawling *Polyanthea* (1503) used typography and diagrams to clarify its contents and structure, encouraging readers to recognize "that mastery of such a large scope of material was still possible."⁴² The "literary closet" described by Vincent Placcius in *De arte excerptendi* (1689) was a cabinet in which hundreds of small paper notes could be organized on thematically designated metal bars.⁴³

Quotation, along with plagiarism and ventriloquism, figured in the polyphonic, multi-voiced precursors to the novel. In Swift, Stearne, Fielding's parody novels, and Diderot's tales, miscellaneous material from a variety of sources circulates within a loose framework. The fragments began to work loose from the frame entirely, however, when early German Romanticism popularized in Europe the notion of the evocative fragment long familiar to Chinese and Japanese aesthetics. Around the time that Marini was re-assembling the Vatican's inscriptions, Friedrich Schlegel was turning the idea of the fragment inside out. For Schlegel, modern scientific scholarship – such as Marini's – was often an obstacle to intuitive understanding. In 1798 Schegel declared, "A fragment, like a miniature work of art, has to be entirely isolated from the surrounding world and be complete in itself, like a porcupine."⁴⁴ To put it another way: is the fragmentation a disruption of the story or is it part of the story? And if it is part of the story, what is its place?

Poets were the first to take up the implications. One of the first who did, Walt Whitman, significantly, had worked as a printer. In *Leaves of Grass* (1855) Whitman deployed typographic fragmentation – specifically the use of ellipsis, blank space on the page, and non-parallel, asymmetrical layout – to create a sense of vastness sufficient to contain the "multitudes" he was writing about.⁴⁵

41 Mitchell 1931: 33–39.

42 Blair 2010: 152, 162.

43 Blair 2010: 93. The idea of the cabinet was apparently first proposed by Thomas Harrison, circa 1640. Placcius and the philosopher Leibniz each had a cabinet built, but neither has survived.

44 August Wilhelm Schlegel and Friedrich Schlegel, in *Athenäum, Eine Zeitschrift*, transl. Peter Firchow. In Harrison 2000: 908.

45 Whitman (1885) 2007.

Following Whitman's cue, Stéphane Mallarmé's, *Un Coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard* (1897–8) treated words as graphic elements freely arranged on a page. Mallarmé described his intentions affirmatively in terms of music – the presentation is a kind of musical score – and negatively, in terms of creating an alternative to the regulated language of journalism and commerce.⁴⁶

Mallarmé's dislike of the language of journalism and commerce extended to a dislike of the visual appearance of language in posters and print advertising. In contrast subsequent modernist poets in the early twentieth century recognized the modern urban streetscape's visual barrage of words as a vernacular analogue to *Un Coup de dés*. In his 1927 essay, "Advertising = Poetry," Blaise Cendrars asked, "Have you ever thought about the sadness that streets, squares, stations, subways, first class hotels, dance halls, movies, dining cars, highways, nature would all exhibit without the innumerable billboards . . . ?"⁴⁷ Apollinaire in his *Calligrammes* (1913–1916), reveling, like his Cubist painter friends, in reductive crudity and confusion of media, deliberately primitivized Mallarmé's refined musical presentation of text into crude cartoons.

A range of modernist writers deployed this visual collage to explore strikingly different moods. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's *Zang Tumb Tuuum* (1914) discarded syntax and words and arranged fragments of phrases, nonsense words, letters and shapes along asymmetrical lines of force. The appearance of improvisation was appropriated in the typographic experiments of Dadaists like Tristan Tzara's 1918 *Dada* magazine but with the Futurist diagrams of explosive power became transformed into ironic celebrations of things falling to pieces. El Lissitzky and Vladimir Mayakovsky's 1923 *For the Voice* deployed a visual poetry that was schematic rather than chaotic and as much informed by ABC primers as by contemporary advertising. The surrealist Paul Éluard evoked the ridiculousness and the eeriness of street advertisements in his *Quelques-uns des mots qui jusqu'ici m'étaient mystérieusement interdits* (1937), which presents apparently found words and phrases in isolation, out of context, in typography by Guy Levis Mano.⁴⁸

The most consequential expression in English of these trends toward literary collage – Ezra Pound's *Cantos* (c. 1915–1962) – had been opening up typographically in the 1920s.⁴⁹ During his poetic apprenticeship, Ezra Pound's philological training metamorphosed into a poetic practice that was grounded in idiosyncratic responses to documents. *The Cantos* consists of fragments:

46 Mallarmé 1993.

47 Cendrars 1966: 246.

48 Reproduced in Éluard 1968: 143–58.

49 Pound 1993.

parts of stories are jumbled, and out of sequence. In most cases Pound was not rescuing the fragments of a shattered work, so much as shattering works that were whole to pry loose a phrase, often ignoring their original meaning. And the fragments are all rounded, typographically, by caesurae. The typographic design is used to shape the phrases, and to emphasize by isolation. These white spaces function as the emphatically intentional silences in the music of Pound's contemporaries Anton Webern and John Cage. The effect is of a blizzard of facts, some trivial, some significant, scraps and overheard whispers. Even when he is writing about his clear-sighted, orderly heroes, Pound could not bring himself to present anything about them in an orderly fashion, or even present their words whole. Instead: glimpses, imagist discontinuity, leaps, and contrast.

By presenting a collage of documents, Pound was not telling a story, but planting seeds that might flower in the reader's imagination. *The Cantos*, inaugurated a genre of long modernist poems not written exclusively by the poet whose name is on the cover. The form was taken up by William Carlos Williams, Louis Zukofsky, Charles Reznikof, Allen Ginsberg, Charles Olson, James Merrill, and Anne Carson, among other eminent writers. Out of Pound's example comes Joyce's polyphonic *Ulysses* (1914–22) and Eliot's "fragments I have shored against my ruins" in the *Waste Land* (1922).⁵⁰ When David Jones described his densely quotational *Anathémata* (1951) as "a heap of all that I could find," it seems like self-depreciation until you discover – in a footnote provided by the poet – that he's quoting a ninth-century Welsh historian.⁵¹

Pound also inspired a completely different tradition of modernist poetry – an explicitly visual concrete poetry – visual art made with language – by the Brazilian Noigandres group and others in the Fifties.⁵² Their work can be understood as an attempt to escape the dense allusiveness of high modernist literature like *The Cantos*. Instead of demanding erudition and study, it had a public air; it was as immediately accessible as advertising. The overlap of visual poetry and quotational poetry is exemplified in the work of Ronald Johnson. For example, Johnson's lyrics in *Valley of the Many Colored Grasses* (1967) don't allude to other texts, or quote good bits, but consist entirely of rearranged bits of other people's writing.⁵³ In his book-length poem *RADI OS*, Johnson produced a Blakean mythological epic, by selecting pages in an 1892 edition of

50 Eliot 1963: 79, l. 430. For Pound in relation to other modernist writers see Kenner 1971 and Davenport 1981.

51 Jones 1965: 9.

52 See Williams 1967.

53 See Johnson 1969.

Paradise Lost, erasing most of Milton's words, and reprinting the remaining words as found. It is an imitation that renders the original sense indiscernible but not entirely extinct: "Through / the Orphean / descent, and up / To find / the more / Clear / song"⁵⁴ *RADI OS* is a monument of Dadaist neoclassicism, as found in the work of Anne and Patrick Poirier, Barbara Bloom, Giulio Paolini, or Johnson's colleague and sometimes publisher Ian Hamilton Finlay. Rather than reconstructing a lost wholeness, Johnson and the others lovingly impose provocative fragmentation.

Pictures

The other practice that illustrates the quotational structure of epigraphic walls is the use of language in contemporary art. While the 1950s produced a visual form of literature, the 1960s produced a linguistic form of visual art, or "word art."⁵⁵

One precursor for this was the work of the artists, musicians, performers and writers associated with Fluxus, an international network of artists, composers, and designers who ignored disciplinary boundaries, and delighted in producing work that defied easy classification. Ben Vautier, from the late 1950s, inscribed objects in his loopy handwriting with brief, contextless declarations – "I love you" – ending with his first name signature "Ben." The effect of an assemblage of these objects was of the pathos of the most rudimentary attempts at self-expression – graffiti, memoranda, signing an object to claim possession of it. Ben's works become monuments of the desire to communicate frustrated by the impersonal conventionality of clichéd language. In 1962 both John Cage (in *Variations III*) and George Brecht (*Flute solo*) produced works that were, in effect, verbal instructions for producing works of art. One consequence of this method, which they probably did not intend, was putting into circulation the idea that communicating the instructions of such a work took the place of realizing or experiencing it.⁵⁶

Around 1966, the poet Ian Hamilton Finlay began inscribing his poems in stones and installing them in a garden outside Edinburgh. He would continue embellishing and landscaping *Little Sparta*, as he named it, for the next

54 Johnson, Davenport, and Milton 2005: 50.

55 These and the other visual artists mentioned here are all well represented in the *ArtStor* online visual database. Accessed August 28, 2014 via <http://www.artstor.org>. See also Morley 2003.

56 The importance of instruction pieces is argued by Kotz 2007.

forty years, connecting across twenty-three centuries with the inscribed visual poetry of Simmias of Rhodes.⁵⁷ At the same time, art galleries began exhibiting work whose medium consisted of language. The language was communicated either through print – magazines or books – or through drawings, assemblages, films, etc., whose meaning was determined by inscribed or associated texts.⁵⁸

Lawrence Weiner decided in 1968 that the realization of his verbal proposals for sculptural installations didn't matter. He proceeded to present the instructions in print, asserting "if the information is conveyed, then the piece exists."⁵⁹ His December 1968 exhibition at the Seth Siegelaub gallery consisted of copies of his pamphlet *Statements*. However Weiner didn't settle with this presentation strategy, internally consistent as it is. In exhibitions throughout Europe over the next two years, Weiner began inscribing statements on walls. The black block letters on white gallery walls became Weiner's signature. Over the subsequent decades, as Weiner's phrases became more abstract, his typography became more animated, even decorative.

Joseph Kosuth's career followed a similar trajectory.⁶⁰ He began in the mid-1960s as a fabricator of tautological sculptures, usually involving words, for example, "Five words in green neon", that writes out those exact words in green neon. From 1967, in his "First Investigation," Kosuth produced square white-on-black photostatic enlargements of dictionary definitions of English words. As with his tautological sculptures, these gestures of proclaiming the obvious are charged with a panicky fear that the obvious has become invisible. In his "Second Investigation" series, from 1969, Kosuth abandoned crafting objects in favor of publishing gnomic texts, often quotations from philosophy, in newspapers, magazines and other public venues. These texts were not identified as being by Joseph Kosuth, or identified as artworks. Less genial than Weiner, and polemically obtuse, these texts must have struck the few readers who noticed them as typos. However in the "Text/Context" billboards of 1978, Kosuth found in the conventions of outdoor advertising – without sacrificing combativeness – an ampler scale. In the 1980s, Kosuth began to create elaborate textual installations, deploying billboard-scale blocks of appropriated texts and images. Quotations in different languages, in different fonts and sizes – sometimes in neon – wallpapered interiors and, ultimately, exteriors. The

57 See Abrioux 1985.

58 Other relevant word artists would include the Art & Language collaborative, John Baldessari, Mel Bochner, Marcel Broodthaers, Jan Dibbets, Dan Graham, Hans Haacke, Sol LeWitt, and On Kawara. An essential resource for word art is Lippard 1997.

59 Fietzek 2004: 44.

60 See Farrow, Reinhardt, Kosuth, and González-Torres 1994.

applied text was often spectacularly decorative, as in “The Language of Equilibrium” installation during the 2007 Venice Biennale, which inscribed the exterior walls of the Armenian monastery of San Lazzaro with glowing yellow neon texts in Armenian, English and Italian.

Since the development of digital technology, the walls have become screens. There was a memorable moment in 1997, when New York, Tokyo, Frankfurt, London, and other cities around the world discovered that they were equipped to present simultaneous live television broadcasts of Princess Diana’s funeral on gigantic digital screens installed in public places.⁶¹ Public digital screens are now ubiquitous in the presentation of events for which access is both limited to a specific place (a funeral, a wedding, a concert) and unlimited (broadcast, webcast). Ever since 1997, Jumbotrons have become standard practice at the funerals of celebrities, such as Yves Saint-Laurent.⁶² This memorial use of public digital screens is hard not to see as analogous to the public display of funeral inscriptions: the need to memorialize a life, memorialize a death on walls and screens in actual space apparently endures.

In the last couple of years Clear Channel Outdoor (CCO), CBS Outdoor, JCDcaux, Lamar Advertising and others been filling public spaces with digital billboards.⁶³ In 2007 CCO offered an integrated nation-wide digital billboard network – essentially public television sets with no off button that show only commercials. Digital billboards are widely hated – along with their indoor relatives in elevators and at supermarket checkout counters – but they already define the twenty-first century cityscape. Nor are public digital screens exclusively devoted to funerals and commercials. Personal media devices have made media and texts personal accessories available everywhere.⁶⁴

61 Frazer 2000: 201–23.

62 Editor 2008.

63 Advertisers Go Outside to Play 2009: 10.

64 Another curious development is the global phenomenon of outdoor movie exhibitions that take the form of temporary, outdoor, seasonal events – often intended to promote the revival of depopulated spaces. These screenings are ubiquitous – taking place on museum lawns, city parks, cemeteries, nature preserves, parking lots, pedestrian malls, streets and refugee camps. They take a variety of forms, happening in big cities and small towns; sometimes free, sometimes with paid admission; sometimes as elaborate municipal events, sometimes as guerilla-style improvisations. In an era of home entertainment, these screenings constitutes a new mode of exhibition that physically re-consolidates the audience in the experience of collective viewing. See the archive of international screening events at the *Open Air Cinema Blog*, accessed August 28, 2014 via <http://www.openaircinema.us/blog/>.

Conclusion

Epigraphic walls are “The peoples fable, and the spoyle of all.”⁶⁵ I have proposed some evidence for a tradition of assembling other people’s words into walls, and claimed that this tradition extends for more than five centuries through varying media. Epigraphic walls are where the archivist, inscription, and audiences meet, and define where we really live. As Ronald Johnson, wrote – or quoted – at the end of *RADI OS*, “For proof look up, / And read / Where thou art.”⁶⁶

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65 Spenser 1959: 510.

66 Johnson, Davenport and Milton 2005: 91.

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